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ABSTRACT

Stressors created by social change were studied in the Appalachian community of Blue Ridge, West Virginia. Data were gathered through open-ended interviews of community informants. Informants invariably described 3 distinct ways of life; data analysis therefore provided for the possibility of different crises in each stratum. Interview topics covered sources of change, family life, jobs, education, family status, and religion. The information was analyzed using a model of structural differentiation containing the following steps: dissatisfaction or threat to goal achievement, symptoms of disturbance, attempts to solve problems through the existing system, encouragement of new ideas, positive attempts to specify a process, implementation of new ways of doing things, and development of performance patterns. Major suggestions for further research indicated the need for studies of: mental disorders and maladaptive behavior in the community; well and sick families as defined by the extent of social and medical health; crises and problem solving in the religious life of the community; and the socialization process. (PS)

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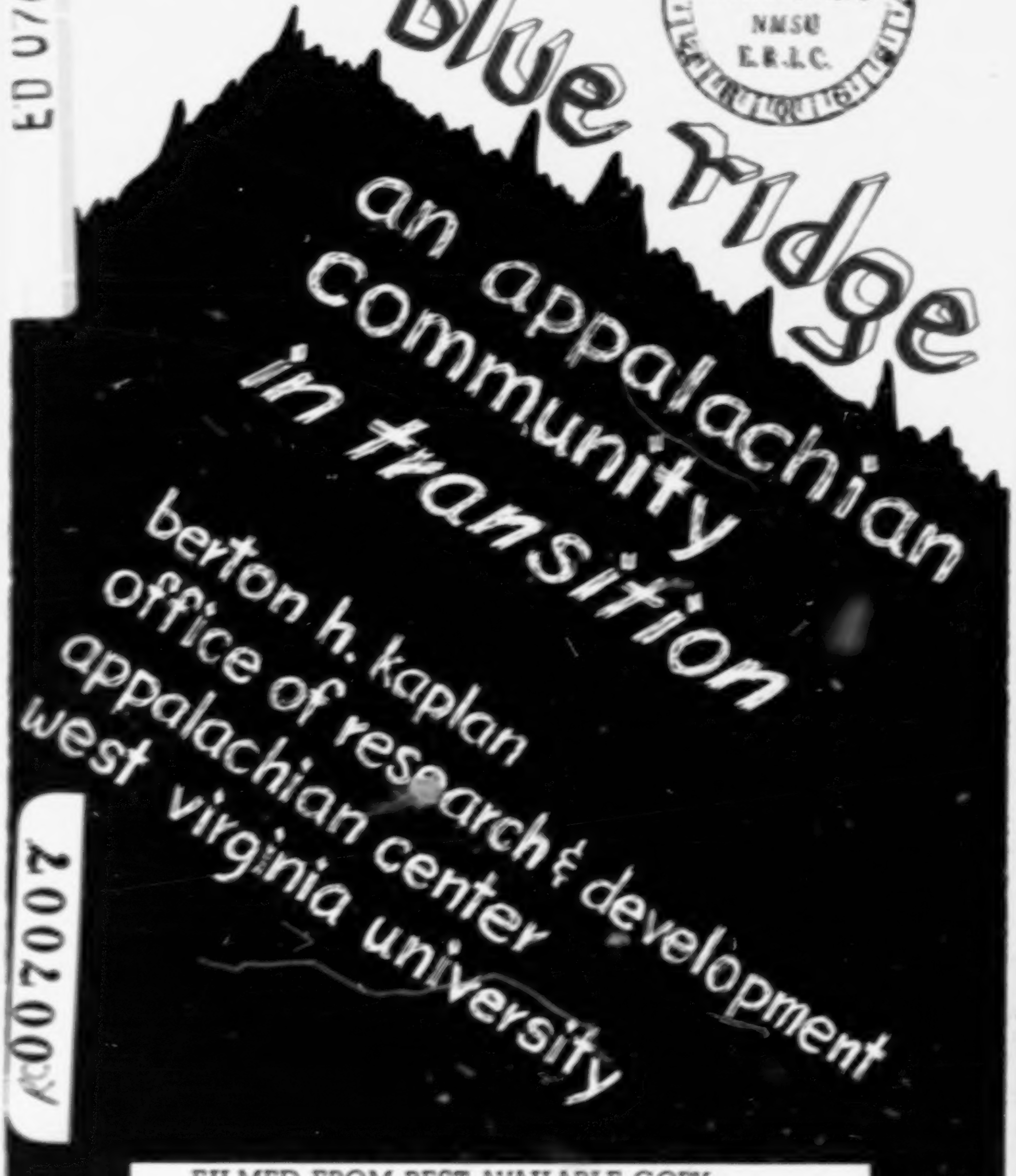

blue ridge

an appalachian community in transition

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JESUS

He lives in the ocean;
He lives in the sea.
He lives in the laurel;
He lives in the tree.
He lives in the birds,
And He lives in me.

Written by Mona Gail George of Blue Ridge
Born November 3, 1941
Died November 8, 1946

There is no shortage of books and articles based on minute observations of that deviant sub-culture called Appalachia. But most of what is available to those wishing to gain some insight into the people of Appalachia consists of writers' and specialists' views, reflecting their own values and emphases. This book differs, however, because it is based on something approaching a counselor-patient relationship. The author went to the people of Appalachia and, in effect, asked them "What's happening here?"

So we have in these pages first person assessments direct from the "horse's mouth," interwoven with factual detail—such as in the historical and economic spheres—to supply the reader with sufficient background to perhaps arrive at some firm conclusions of his own.

Two significant points come to mind when reading Kaplan's study. First, labels such as "poor" or "disadvantaged" cannot be applied indiscriminately to the Appalachian people. They are not an amorphous lump of humanity, huddled disconsolately together among telltale statistics proving they fall short of the outer society's norms. Instead, this so-called "bottom" group has its own sub-classes, each with its own peculiar assets, deficiencies, and values. Despite a commonality of substandard education, income, and socialization with society at large, the "sorrys", the "get bys" and the "betters" appear to be fair, if pale, reflections of similar groups found all over the nation.

The lesson for the outsider wanting to do "good" for these people, then, is that they can no more be treated as a discrete, homogeneous group than any collection of more prosperous, more "typical" Americans. In short, the people of Appalachia have a culture that is every bit as diverse—and delicately balanced and interwoven—as the so-called more advanced culture of the larger society. Needless to say, this diversity, which gives evidence of strengths as well as weaknesses, will have to be taken into account by agencies wishing to improve the environment of these folk.

A second significant finding in these pages—one that is clear by its obvious invisibility—is that the fortunes of Appalachia's people have been largely determined by quite casual forces, by an interplay of influences which have been thrust on them almost by accident. Kaplan points up the effects of wars, roads, the Great Depression, and the temporary stimulus of job-producing extractive industries whose prosperity hinged on fluctuating world market prices and the kind of inexorable natural law which decrees that trees can be harvested faster than they can be grown.

But among these casual forces that brought many Appalachians to the edge of social, economic, and even psychological disintegration, the reader finds barely a trace of formalized influence for good. Yet the region has had its share of county agents, welfare and social workers, and representatives from various public and private agencies reputedly dedicated to helping people improve their lot—from the CCC and WPA of the Thirties to 4-H and Boy Scouts.

And yet, as Kaplan shows, none of these formal groups—excepting the schools to a very limited extent—seems to have had any influence whatsoever on the amelioration of the serious problems these people faced and continue to face. This is food for thought when contemplating the introduction of new bureaucracies into areas needing help, because it prompts the question of what prior bureaucracies, equally intellectually committed to helping, were influenced by to render them largely if not totally ineffectual.

Aware of both Appalachia's problems and the negligible impress of intentional forces to offer solutions, Kaplan discusses a model for organized change, one that anticipates the pitfalls of the conventional bureaucracy, and which takes into account not only the vagaries and diversities of the client groups but also the equally critical vagaries and diversities of those who would help.

The problem, in short, is whether those agencies—both old or new—charged with the responsibility for helping those with problems can, after decades of neglect and no more than a few short years of random, sporadic, and often disorganized (though well-intentioned) activism, contribute meaningfully to Blue Ridge and its many counterparts.

The author has done more than most—defining in indigenous terms what the people of Appalachia are and offering a blueprint for a rational and cohesive approach to the introduction of structured, goal-oriented change in place of a continuing casual process that takes far too long, is far too random, and costs far too much in human terms.

JACK BELCK
Morgantown, West Virginia
September 1970

Blue Ridge:
An Appalachian Community in Transition

by

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DEDICATION

To three great teachers

Harvey L. Smith, Ph. D.
E. P. Ohle, M.D.
John Cassel, M.D.

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PREFACE

This monograph represents a part of my continuing interest in the problems and processes of modernization.[1] Specifically, Blue Ridge provided me with a laboratory to study the crises and modes of adaptation of a people experiencing rapid social change.

Hopefully, this case study will contribute to our understanding of developmental problems in the southern Appalachian region. In this respect, while a number of important works have appeared on the Appalachian region since my research was completed,[2] I find it impossible to document that my study is accumulative to these various recent studies. It is not. In fact, the emerging diversity of approaches for studying Appalachian culture is long overdue. Appalachia is, apparently, a diversity of sub-cultures. Apparently there are a variety of questions to be asked about the factors which facilitate or interfere with orderly modernization in this region.

The reader must realize that this study was conceived and completed during 1957 to 1959. Consequently, certain limitations were imposed upon me, especially the conceptual, methodological, and field constraints operating at that time. In any case, the limitations and deficiencies of this work are my responsibility. For example, I must point out that the richness of our data obviously varied. The chapter on religion, for example, contains far richer material than the chapter on family, an area which was somewhat closed to effective investigation.

On the positive side, I have provided some ethnographic material on an Appalachian community undergoing social change. This should be a contribution to an informationally sparse region.[3] Secondly, I think this material has considerable value for those interested in the development of the region. For that reason an extra chapter was added on the problems of development.

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[1] Berton H. Kaplan, Issue Editor, "Organizations and Social Development," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 13 (December 1968), pp. 370-542.

[2] Thomas Ford, ed., *The Southern Appalachian Region*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962); Jack Weller, Yesterday's People: *Life in Contemporary Appalachia*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); Harry M. Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, (Boston: Atlantic, Little, Brown, 1962); Richard A. Bell, "A Poverty Case: The Analgesic Subculture of the Southern Appalachians," *American Sociological Review*, 33, (December 1968), pp. 888-895.

[3] John Stephenson, *Shiloh: A Mountain Community*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968). This is a follow-up of my own work in the same community.

There are a couple of remarks I would like to make now about the manuscript which are a result of what I have learned since doing this study. The study was conceptualized in 1957, the field work was done during the summers of 1957, 1958, and 1959, and the final manuscript was not completed until 1962. I have learned a lot since then. First of all, I think there is an opportunity for an approach which is conceptually and empirically richer than the one used in this manuscript. For example Charles Hughes, et al., **The People of Cove and Woodlot,**[4] offers an example for synthesizing the idea of sentiments as developed by Alexander H. Leighton, and the idea of structural differentiation over time. In this way, we would focus on the various sentiments as they relate to the steps or stages of social change. For example, one could develop the complex of sentiments involved in a dissatisfaction, or a response set, or the capacity to innovate and change.

Second, I learned that the approach to studying social change ideally should involve a mixed set of methods—the descriptive and ethnographic, attitudinal survey items, cohorts (in depth over time), and case history studies. If one is going to go about studying the extremely important problem of social change in a more creative way, I think a mixed methodological model would be preferred. These sorts of options were not available to me. The method used was a function of what was possible.

Third, the idea of crisis as used in this manuscript, should certainly be expanded and refined. For example, the work of Adolph Meyers, emphasizing crisis and symptoms, can be refined in a community research setting. For example, the crises themes in Blue Ridge are not equally valent. Indeed, what are the specific crises in their way of life? How are these crises coped with?

Finally, I should also point out that until recently I was unwilling to publish this case study out of fear of doing some violence to the personal communications of my many informants. Now I feel free to publish this material.

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[4] Charles Hughes, Marc Adeland-Tremblay, Robert N. Rappoport, and Alexander H. Leighton, *People of Cove and Woodlot*, (New York: Basic Books, 1960).

Why? My hope is that this material might contribute to more effective developmental efforts in Appalachia. My trust is that the people of Blue Ridge will regard this work as a respectful wish to contribute, not a bit of snooping. This monograph is also offered for professional critique and subsequent improvement in the spirit of Abraham Kaplan's observation:[1]

> Every taxonomy is a provisional and implicit theory (or family of theories). As knowledge of a particular subject-matter grows, our conception of that subject-matter changes; as our concepts become more fitting, we learn more and more. Like all existential dilemmas in science, of which this is an instance, the paradox is resolved by a process of approximation: the better our concepts, the better the theory we can formulate with them, and in turn, the better the concepts available for the next, improved theory. U. F. Lenzen has spoken explicitly of "successive definition." It is only through such successions that the scientist can hope to achieve success.

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[1] Abraham Kaplan, *The Conduct of Inquiry*, (San Francisco: Chandler, 1964), pp. 53-54.

CHAPTER 1

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND FRAME OF REFERENCE

The physician who offered his setting for study had several questions in mind: What rapid changes in social structure had taken place within his mountain community? What kinds of serious personal problems did these changes pose for his patients? Specifically, what kind of family and community problems were linked to the kinds of diseases and complaints he observed in his patients? What kinds of adaptations did people make to these problems? What alternatives did they have? Why did some families adapt well to the changes? Why were some families unable to adapt to the rapid changes in the community? The problem of the health consequences of a changing way of life was uppermost in his mind. Above all, he was concerned with how a clinic-based physician could better understand the life problems of patients and related symptoms.[1]

These important and sensitive questions were discussed with several members of the staff of the University of North Carolina Medical School. Dr. Harvey L. Smith, Director of the Social Research Section, found the physician's interests relevant to his own involvement in the life situational approach to health responses.[2]

Dr. Smith found the mountain setting a useful laboratory in which to develop and apply concepts and approaches for studying social processes in a health relevant manner. Specifically, in this regard, the concept of stressors was seen as a fruitful approach. "Stressors, in sum, are seen as being the major problems of adaptation faced by the people of a given society."[3] The concept of stressors is postulated as a sociological counterpart to the term "press" in psychology. In psychology, a press is a pressure in the environment which may be exerted on the individual.[4] Social system strains such as value conflicts, anomie, role conflicts, status dilemmas, and so on, characterize some types of social stressors.[5] The health relevant link of stressors to human adaptation patterns is in terms of the concept of stress. Stress is "the subjective response of the people, the individuals and groups, at risk of (subjected to) the stressors."[6] A public awareness of the link between social, psychological, and physical illness is shown on a recent New York subway poster: hate is linked to ulcers, heart disease, and arthritis—and it doesn't help the other fellow either.[7]

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[1] This is Adolph Meyer's approach applied to a community context. For a brief review of this view of events and symptoms, see Alexander H. Leighton, "Cosmos at the Gallup City Dump," in *Psychiatric Disorder and the Urban Environment*, edited by Berton H. Kaplan, published by Behavioral Publications in the summer of 1970.

[2] Harvey L. Smith, "Adaptation: Clinical and Social" (Unpublished manuscript, University of North Carolina, 1962); Harvey L. Smith, *Society and Health in a Mountain Community*: A Working paper (Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science, 1961), pp. 1-4.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

It must be emphasized that we do not mean to say that where there are stressors there must be stresses. Some groups, sub-groups, or individuals adapt easily to the stressors in the system. Some may fail or only partly succeed in their responses to these problems. And individuals or families exposed to the same stressor may respond in varying ways and with varying degrees of success or failure.

We are not reporting on the stress reaction patterns. One can study society without studying personality, even though one assumes linkages between the two systems.

In this particular study, we are concerned solely with the stressors created by social change. Several reasons seemed to justify this focus. First, our physician colleague felt that social change had created the major problem of adaptation in his community. Second, he further thought that his clinical cases frequently reflected these problems in terms of functional disorders. He also felt that much of the anti-social behavior in the community was closely related to the rapid changes in the community's way of life. These, then, constitute practical reasons for a social change focus. There was also a theoretical rationale: we felt that sociological studies of social change deserved more attention.

With the foregoing general problem and approach in mind, the development of a research program began in Blue Ridge. In the summer of 1954, anthropologist Ruben E. Reina and his wife spent eight weeks in the community.[8] His report constitutes an ethnographic survey, in which some of the major parameters of the community are briefly described. In this manner beginning explorations were made. Much remained to be done.

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[4] Jerome K. Myers and Bertram H. Roberts, *Family and Class Dynamics in Mental Illness* (New York: John Wiley, 1959), p. 15.

[5] Smith, *Society and Health in a Mountain Community*, p. 6.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 6.

[7] For a recent illustration of the link between social psychological factors and disease see James P. Henry and John C. Cassell, "Psychosocial Factors in Essential Hypertension," *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 90 (1969), pp. 171-200.

Dr. Smith then asked Ida Harper Simpson, Ph.D. (then a student) to go over Reina's material to further develop its sociological significance, especially the stressor problems posed.[9] Dr. Simpson saw her task as ". . . concerned with trying to raise questions which will enable us to understand the overall community structure, points of change in this structure, people's attitudes toward these changes, and the kinds of adaptations which have occurred."[10] In terms of project development, the question then became one of refining a specific research problem.

At this point, the author's own interests were found to be congruent with those of the project, so the immediate task became one of defining a specific problem, choosing an analytical scheme, and outlining a relevant field approach. In the summer of 1957, we used the first of three summers in the community, to assay theory, methods, and the possibilities of field situation. With a general problem focus on the stressors created by social change, we started with a conceptual scheme based on the Wilsons[11] and Redfield[12] to depict what had happened to this once folk-like community which had been greatly changed by urbanization. As field work progressed, it was found that W. I. Thomas' concept of crisis was valuable in locating and analyzing the themes, the stressor problems, which reflected the adaptive problems created by social change. The specific problem, theory, and method were elaborated in the field situation. From a general question we had to refine specific questions. From a host of schemes, we had to find the most fruitful. From a variety of data-gathering techniques, we had to choose those most relevant and feasible.

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[8] Ruben E. Reina, "A Preliminary Report of Eight Weeks of Field Work in Mountain Community, Summer, 1954" (Unpublished manuscript, Social Research Section, University of North Carolina, 1954).

[9] Ida Harper Simpson, "Interim Report on Eight Weeks of Anthropological Field Work in a North Carolina Mountain Community, 1954." (Unpublished manuscript, Social Research Section, Univtrsity of North Carolina, 1955).

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[11] Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 1-24.

[12] Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society" *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (January, 1947), pp. 293-308.

The specific research problems chosen were:

1. As a result of social change, what stressors were created?
    a. Specifically, what major social crises developed?
    b. How were these crises culturally defined within key social structures?
    c. How were these crises perceived and phrased?[13]
2. As a result of varying responses by various groups within the community to the crises of social change, what has been the process of structural differentiation which developed to attempt to solve, through structural reorganization, the problem created?

These problems were conceptualized in terms of a specific theory of structural differentiation. Since this scheme is based on the concepts of action theory, we will now review the assumptions and frame of reference used to study structural differentiation.[14]

A System of Action

A system of social action arises from the interaction of two or more units in a particular environment or situation. Inherent in this approach is the concept of the interdependence of units. Units influence each other and adjust to each other and to the external environment. This mutual influence and adjustment is governed by the principle of equilibrium. And there are at least several types of equilibrium which influence the different types of adjustment. First, if the equilibrium is stable, the system tends to return to its original position. Second, if the equilibrium is partial, only some of the units adjust, some change, and others remain the same. Third, if the equilibrium is unstable, the system will in all probability change through mutual adjustment either to a new equilibrium, or at worst, disintegrate altogether.[16]

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[13] See Oscar Lewis. *Five Families*. New York: Basic Books, 1959, for an example of securing the participants of a cultures view of their world.

[14] See Appendix A for alternate frames of reference that were reviewed but found inadequate to frame our problem.

[15] Neil J. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 1-2. Much of the theoretical scheme used in this work and developed in this chapter derives from pp. 1-42 of this book. See also Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, *Economy and Society* (Glencoe. The Free Press, 1956), pp. 270-271.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

The Units of Analysis of a Social System

In a more concrete sense, a social system is composed of sets of activities, roles, and organizations or collectivities composed of sub-roles. The relative predominance of these three units depends on the system's degree of differentiation and degree of crystallization. For instance, you can observe types of activities as the unit of analysis, such as giving support. But once stable expectations arise, we can speak of the development of roles. And when groups and sub-groups are in question, as with cliques or coalitions, we speak of collectivities as the units of the social system. Analytically, it must be emphasized, all three units are identical. They are sectors of action and perform or contribute to the functioning of social systems. For the sake of verbal economy, one can use the term **role**, as it refers to all three types of units.

A social system is not a conglomeration of activities, roles, and collectivities. It is subject to several controls. First, it is governed by a value system that defines and helps legitimatize the activities of the social system or sub-systems. Second, these values are institutionalized. Values provide regulatory patterns which govern interaction of the more concrete units. Third, the system or sub-systems cluster around functional imperatives which govern the continuous, ongoing system. Finally, we can deal with systems and sub-systems which have transactions with other systems or sub-systems.[17]

The Functional Analysis of a Social System

In a functional analysis, we see roles as the units which contribute, in a concrete sense, to the functioning of a social system. In order to assess these contributions, functional criteria are necessary. What functions do roles fulfill in a social system? In terms of a theory of action, at least four functional exigencies must be considered:[18]

(1) Latent pattern-maintenance and tension management. Social systems are governed by value systems which specify the nature of the system, its goals, and the means of attaining goals. One of the first functional requirements of a social system is to preserve the value system itself and ensure

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[17] Smelser, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

[18] Smelser, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13.

conformity. Socialization and education are involved, as well as control mechanisms for handling and resolving disturbances. This function may be latent in that maintaining and managing activity proceeds continuously and independently of the system's larger adjustments.

(2) Goal attainment. The system's activities are directed towards attaining a goal or set of goals which differ from system to system.

(3) Adaptation. Goals are not realized automatically. Consequently, a supply of facilities arises with which goals may be pursued at different times and in different situations.

(4) Integration. The pursuit of goals is not without its disharmonies and conflicts. Integration has to do with maintaining interaction which is as harmonious and conflict-free as possible.

A key task in functional analysis is to assign functional primacy to any given role, as well as to examine the relations among the units in the system and between systems.

Social System Dynamics

We have briefly outlined the assumptions and categories of a system of action. The social system's unit of analysis and the functional dimensions have been indicated as working criteria. It is now important to comment on the behavior of social systems over time. Generally, two types of social system dynamics can be distinguished: (1) the adjustments of the system which do not require the reorganization of the roles; (2) the structural changes which involve the disappearance, reorganization, re-creation of the social system's roles. We are concerned with the latter. This study is concerned largely with long-term changes which involve the development of a new social system. Since the time span involved in this study is limited, it is realized that some sub-systems may have changed very little, some have moved to partial changes, while others have been largely restructured. But the theoretical goal focuses on how changes arise to solve the problems of disequilibrium through change. Empirically, comparisons may be possible among the different degrees of restructuring that occur.

The Frame of Reference - The Model of Structural Differentiation[19]

We have thus far discussed the initiating concepts, basic assumptions, and the basic categories of a theory of action of social systems. It is in terms of the foregoing that we can state the model of structural differentiation which will be analytically applied to an investigation of a growing, changing, and developing social system. We are well aware that modifications in application may arise.

The model of structural differentiation involves a sequence that can be described or divided into seven steps as derived from Smelser:

Step 1. Dissatisfaction with, or a threat to, goal achievement arises, as brought about through a change in the situation and/or the system. The structural foci of these dissatisfactions (Thomas' crises) are in terms of roles or in terms of resources. The resources of a social system can be classified as to four general types: values, motivations of individuals, facilities which actors use, and integration or cohesion. In this first stage, a sense of opportunity to change in order to solve the threats may arise. The dissatisfactions can be conceptualized or isolated for our purposes in terms of three criteria: the values in question, the roles in the structure so affected, and the social context of the dissatisfaction. We are particularly concerned with the structural foci of crises that are relevant primarily to roles and their related values. Operationally, the foregoing can be derived from statements which reveal punishing situations, i.e., capable of inflicting pain, frustration of goals and rewards.[20]

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[19] For examination of the strategic literature on the theory of structural differentiation as developed by Parsons and others, see: Robert S. Bales and Phillip E. Slater, "Role Differentiation in Small Decision-making Groups" in Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales and Edward A. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953); Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *et al.*, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956); Neil Smelser, *Social Change and the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959); Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family: A Comparative Study," in *Family, Socialization, op. cit.*, pp. 307-51; Amitai Etzioni, "The Functional Differentiation of Elites in the Kibbutz," *American Journal of Sociology*, 69, 1959, pp. 476-87; Neil Smelser, "Toward a Theory of Modernization," in Amitai and Eva Etzioni (eds.), *Social Change: Sources, Patterns and Consequences* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965); A. Etzioni, "The Epigenesis of Political Communities at the International Level," *American Journal of Sociology*, 68, 1963, pp. 407-421.

Step 2. If dissatisfactions continue or increase and are not solved, symptoms of disturbance arise. The usual social controls are broken or become less effective. The general form of the symptoms are in the form of unjustified negative emotional reactions and unrealistic aspirations. The three classic symptoms of disturbance are: (1) aggression, which is unsocialized aggression or the relaxation of the usual controls; (2) fantasy, which goes beyond the cultural definitions of the situation, such as the denial of accepted means of attaining social goals, or a commitment to unacceptable elements, a belief in the impossible—"if only" someone would do something; (3) anxiety, which involves the diffuse fear of being excluded from the social system. We are solely concerned with social expressions of disturbance. Some major criteria for identifying symptoms of disturbance would be that the social behavior is unrealistically directed, misdirected, or conflictful; and that the social behavior bears a plausible symbolic relationship to these conditions. The symbolic relationship can be traced in terms of analyzing the content of the symptoms of disturbance, such as the problems the Utopias offer to solve, and by correlating the rise and fall of these symptoms with the social conditions that give rise to them.

Step 3. In this step there is an attempt to solve these problems through realizing the existing value system. In this way, tensions are handled and motivations mobilized. Step three "brings it back into line."[21] There is an attempt to bring aggression back to socialized action. Assurances are given to relieve anxiety. And those with symptoms committed to fantasy are encouraged to take into account the group's values, that is, given data. The police, courts, religious leaders, and others specializing in social control may also be very important at this time.

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[20] In view of space considerations, an extended methodological note has been omitted. See Berton H. Kaplan, *Social Change, Adaptive Problems and Health in a Mountain Community (unpubl. dissertation:* University of North Carolina, 1962), pp. 33-40; see John Gillin and George Nicholson, "The Security Function of a Cultural System," *Social Forces*, 30, 1951, pp. 179-184; Alvin Gouldner, *Wildcat Strike* (Yellow Springs: The Antioch Press, 1954), pp. 125-129, for a discussion of the use of the concept of crisis as an entree into both social tensions and social structure.

[21] Smelser, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

Step 4. In this step there is the encouragement of new ideas, or new definitions of the situation. There is, however, no specific responsibility for implementing these new definitions. This step involves the specification of the types of goals which must be achieved in order to erase, correct, modify, or solve the initial source of dissatisfaction(s). During this step at least four things need occur: (1) a specification of the goals to be achieved in order to solve the problem; (2) a specification of the motivations necessary to effect changes; (3) the encouragement of new definitions; and (4) speculation on the revision of authority and the division of labor required for implementing the new definitions. An important aspect of this stage is that the responsibility for behaving in terms of the new definition of the situation has not been institutionalized. Rewards in terms of prestige and honor go to those who lead the way in step four.

It should be noted that thus far new structural arrangements have not emerged, although step four sets the stage for this to happen. Steps five through seven deal with the institutionalization of the new definitions.

Step 5. In this stage, positive attempts are made to reach a specification of the processes that have gone on in step four, as described above. In this sense, the new definitions can become objects of commitment. Empirically, this stage is often indistinguishable from steps four, six, and seven.

Step 6. In this stage, there is a responsible implementation of the new definitions which are either rewarded or punished. The extent to which new roles are rewarded or punished depends at least on their acceptability or reprehensibility within the existing value system.

Step 7. If the implementations of step six go over positively, the new definitions of step four are gradually routinized into patterns of performance and sanctions. The new definitions become an accepted part of the changed institution.

There are several questions and qualifications about this model which must be dealt with at this point. First, the seven steps do not necessily proceed in an orderly manner. For example, when the disturbances of step two occur, it does not mean that the dissatisfactions of step one disappear, nor do they disappear with attempts in step three to handle the dissatisfactions with existing values. To some extent, the dissatisfactions exist until the system changes sufficiently to remove the initial disequilibrating conditions. Figure 1, representing the relationships between the analytical steps of structural differentiation and simple time, requires some comment.

The units on the vertical axis refer to phenomena related to the seven analytical stages—Step 1 is the point of dissatisfaction or crisis, Step 2 is related to the symptoms of disturbance, and so on. The solid horizontal line indicates the appearance of these phenomena in time; the dotted horizontal lines indicate that the phenomena are latent and likely to reappear in case of the increase in importance of the originating dissatisfaction. The horizontal axis represents time. The dissatisfactions of Step 1 exist until the sixth or seventh step, when concrete differentiation appears. The symptoms of disturbance, Step 2, appear after Step 1. But they disappear in period three under the influence of Step 3, the handling and managing. Step 4 occurs after Step 3. In other words, there is a time sequence involved, with the possibility of previous steps re-occurring before final solutions are institutionalized in Steps 6 and 7. The original disturbance disappears once the crisis spots of the social structure have been solved in the process of structural differentiation.

Several further implications of this model must be made clear. Based on the foregoing, regression is possible, even likely. A sequence of differentiation may be truncated. Minor dissatisfactions may not generate Steps 2 through 7. If there are well institutionalized means of expressing disturbances, uncontrolled outbursts are not too apparent or likely. Furthermore, when there are institutionalized roles for initiating change, dissatisfactions are usually conveyed directly to the incumbents of these roles. Only if these role incumbents fail to establish new structural definitions are symptoms of disturbance likely to appear. Under the appropriate conditions, it is possible to find instances of repeating and skipping steps. The theoretical concern of this particular application of a model of structural differentiation is that of a less differentiated to a more differentiated social structure.[22]

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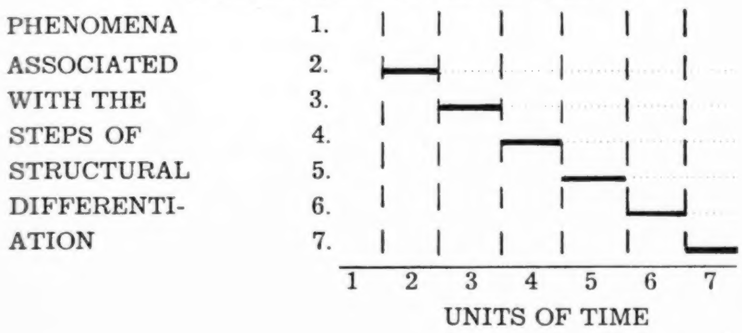
[22] Smelser, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-32.

Theoretical Value of the Model of Structural Differentiation

We can offer several reasons for justifying the use of this particular model. First, the model is stated in general terms; it is applicable to any social system, as defined. For example, it should be applicable to role differentiation in therapeutic groups. Second, it seems to be empirically fruitful. Indeed, it is useful to attempt to use a new formulation to discover just how productive the scheme is of empirical and theoretical rewards. Third, and very important, this scheme is at the very least an attempt to deal with social processes of social change. This has been a relatively neglected or overlooked area, as Vogt points out.[23] Fourth, contrary to the skepticism or criticism of functionalism as being inapplicable to change problems,[24] this framework as discussed, is built out of structural and functional categories. Fifth, this model permits one to study short-term, long-term, or transitional periods of social change. Sixth, as stated, it permits easy comparisons between societies or smaller groups as to how and why they have changed in their particular manner. For example, we will be comparing how the three class sub-cultures of Blue Ridge have experienced the process of change in different ways and at different rates of speed.

FIGURE 1

The Relationship Between Steps in Structural Differentiation and Units of Time



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[23] E. Z. Vogt, "On the Concept of Structure and Process," *American Anthropologist*, 62 (February, 1960), p. 19.

[24] Francesca Cancian, "Functional Analysis of Change," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (December, 1960), pp. 818-827.

This model for studying change, in this case, community change, is relevant to questions of health and illness in a community in the following ways: (1) The scheme permits us to locate and analyze the stressor problem (crisis or social dissatisfactions) as they are perceived as important problems by the people; (2) the model allows us to examine how different groups adapt to these problems, from crises to attempted solutions of these problems; (3) in this way, we might predict who are still at risk and who have had the resources to more adaptive solutions; (4) thus, we should be able to ascertain who are most at risk to what types of stressors and who are not.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The data were gathered through the use of open-ended interviews with informants. First, it was necessary to secure an overview of what the way of life had been like in earlier times, what factors had created changes, and what the new patterns were like.[1] In order to do this, we asked a series of informants who were sixty-five and over to describe what life was like in the days prior to urbanization and industrialization. Those in their sixties and seventies had a personal view of the time. For accuracy, we cross-checked this data on the same questions among a group of informants who were in their thirties and forties. This group had presumably heard the "old times" described. The same procedure was used when older informants were asked what factors caused the folk-like way of life to change. The current patterns of change were likewise developed with all informants through a general question asking them to describe current positions and to contrast these with the earlier period.[2]

Second, it was anticipated that the informant approach would allow the informants to reveal local perceptions of the crisis that had arisen as a result of the rapid changes that had occurred. Third, the informants' descriptions and recollections could be developed over time, allowing a fuller picture of the past and how it had changed.

By the end of the first summer of field work, the interviews were organized around three large questions which reflected our choice of problem and theory.

a. What dissatisfactions or crises had arisen within key social structures, as a result of the changes?

b. How were these crises defined within the community and subgroups within the community?

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[1] I am painfully aware of the pitfalls of such an approach. See Stephen Thernstrom, "Yankee City Revisited," *American Sociological Review*, 30 (April, 1965), pp. 234-242.

[2] Descriptive categories were used and were based on the work of Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (January, 1947), 293; Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 1-14; Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, eds., *Towards A General Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 230-233.

c. What were the definitions that had arisen in the process of structural differentiation in an attempt to solve the problems created? Around these general crises and the categories relevant to structural differentiation, key informants were interviewed over the next two summers. The interviewing was open and probing. Every attempt was made to capture local meaning of the problems posed.

It was decided early to use informants as the primary source of data, along with living and observing informally in the community. The role of the participant observer was chosen for two reasons. First, the local people's suspiciousness of the "outsider" would have made a sampled population of interviewees a barren adventure. One could not walk up to a household, introduce oneself, and with suitable attempts at legitimation of the research role hope to gather the kind of information required. Indeed, the first researcher in the community had considerable difficulty merely working with a few friendly informants. There was a second rationale for this approach. We needed to be exploratory in order to better know our universe with its many unknown or obscure variables. We had to work out the specifics of the problem, theory, and method as we went along. As a result, open-ended interviews with informants allowed us to clarify our study approach and secure more pertinent data on the real crises of social change.

The Selection of Informants[3]

During the author's first days in the community, the local physician's many perceptive observations provided a helpful entree into the field situation. He indicated who to see initially and what major cultural features to consider. It was crucial that the attempt to establish a research role be fitted in with the key values and the role limits of the situation. With this introduction, he then introduced us to Mrs. S., a well-known and knowledgeable person whose family was among the earliest settlers. She was agreeable to helping with the project and offered to introduce us to several other informants. These contacts, in turn, led over the three summers to the use of thirty-two informants located in the key parts of the social structure.

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[3] See Appendix B for an extended discussion of mechanisms used to establish the role of participant observer.

It became apparent quite early that the churches offered an important avenue for **legitimating** the researcher's role in the community. Religious values are still at the core of the way of life. Consequently, we went to all the preachers in the community and told them that we had visited the Holy Land and had many pictures of its historical places and offered to show these in churches. These offers were accepted. Before showing the slides, each church group was given a short talk in which the project was described as a health study and their cooperation was asked After showing the slides, we were invited, during the next three summers, into pratically every household in the community. Not only was the researcher's role legitimated in this manner, but we were able to get to know every family in the community. In this manner, a second key value of the community was utilized in that the researcher became almost "as if" kin in about a dozen of the larger families of the community. Finally, every opportunity to be a good neighbor was utilized to validate the researcher within three of the more important values systems of the community—religion, kinship, and the good neighbor.

The accuracy of the data secured was checked in several ways. We had not only a large number of informants who were long-time residents in the community, but we also used several members of the Intentional Community,[4] as informants. These people are mostly outsiders who have established an "intential" community in the midst of the township. As outsiders, they were marginal to the community. As participants, but outsiders, they were marginal to the community. As participants, but outsiders, they were good observers of local behavior. Members of this group were used not only to cross-check on local informants, but also as sources of data themselves. In both groups the data were cross-checked with all other informants. As a further check, three very knowledgeable persons from outside the community were questioned at great length about the data secured—the regional historian, the county agricultural agent, and a most perceptive preacher. These persons were chosen for their locally acknowledged expertness on the history and ways of the county. It was also ascertained that the community was sufficiently typical of the small township on the basis of religion, occupation, and size of family. All informants were questioned on this and so agreed. Finally, after a first draft was written, a new panel of five informants (local college students back home for the summer) was secured. It was assumed that the college experience would sharpen their observations of their community's way of life. In many ways they had become marginal people, who are said to be excellent sources of data in a study of this kind.[5] This proved to be true. The first draft was discussed with them for their comments. They agreed with the stated generations. This then summarizes my attempts to minimize bias and error and to avoid naive reporting.

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[4] Intentional Community is the pseudonym of a local community founded in the late 1930's. Almost all of the settlers have been from out of the area.

The Use of Crisis Problems as Foci of Analysis

We had started our observations with two theoretical assumptions which were also methodological assumptions. First, we had expected that the pressing change problems of the culture would be revealed through the stated crises, which would express the goal threats created by disequilbrating conditions.[6] Second, we were guided by W. T. Thomas' point that the study of social life required concepts which mirror social reality in the objective and subjective sense.[7] With these two rationales, we focused on the crisis themes as points for data collection and subsequent analysis. In the field, such cultural perceptions of the problems of change became quickly apparent as a mine of information on what had changed and how groups had responded to the problems of change.

This approach worked. We found that the crisis themes reflected key functional problems and revealed the important roles and values involved in the problems of change. This approach also permitted a functional analysis of change. Thus, this method proved useful on both theoretical and methodological grounds.

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[5] Benjamin D. Paul, "Interview Techniques and Field Relationships," *Anthropology Today*, ed. A. L. Kroeber (Chicago: (University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 443-444. *We were, of course, aware of the pitfalls of using informants. We attempted to deal with these dangers by the numerous cross-checks described;* Thernstrom, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-42

[6] John Gillin and George Nicholson, "The Security Functions of Cultural Systems," *Social Forces*, 30 (December, 1953), p 179; John Gillin, *The Culture of Security in San Carlos* (New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, 1951), pp. 1-4; Alexander H. and Dorothea C. Leighton, *Gregorio, The Hand Trembler* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum of American Ethnology, 1949), pp. 31-39; Alexander H. and Dorothea C. Leighton, "Some Types of Uneasiness and Fear in a Navaho Indian Community," *American Anthropologist*, 44 (April-June, 1942), pp. 194-209; Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Scientific Theory of Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), pp. 52-66.

[7] Edward Volkart, *Social Behavior and Personality: Contributions of W. I. Thomas to Theory and Social Research* (New York: Social Research Council, 1951), p. 5.

Empirically, the crisis problems were revealed in jokes, conversations, family discussions, informant interviews, and sermons. What expectations were violated? For example, a series of informants was asked to discuss the important complaints; the reported crisis topics were invariably discussed. Symptomatic complaints were carefully assessed. With this kind of empirical and theoretical success, this manuscript was organized around crisis points[*] in the changing social structure.

The Model of Three Classes

When informants were asked to describe the ways families lived, they invariably described three distinct ways of life, three different sub-cultures. This was true both for pre-industrial times as well as the period during which this research was accomplished, the summers of 1957, 1958, and 1959. The existence of these three different "classes" meant that there might be different crises for each stratum. It might furthermore involve different symptoms of these complaints and different attempts at solution within the existing values. It also might mean that the process of structural differentiation towards a reorganization of the system might occur in different ways and with different degrees of involvement over time. These considerations were essential to the collection and ordering of data.

The Sample

Initially, the physician desired that our observations include the entire township. Since the township had a population of over 1600 and was scattered out over many miles, this task was manifestly impossible. We decided to select a community within the township which was reasonably representative of the entire area.

Blue Ridge was selected for a number of reasons. First, this community was suggested by the doctor because he thought it typical of the township. Second, we asked our informants to assess whether Blue Ridge was typical of the local culture. They unanimously agreed. Third, the author did a survey of the entire township. We inquired as to the occupation, religion, and family size of each household in the township. Although the technique was inexact and crude, Blue Ridge seemed to be like the other areas in the township. Finally, it was found that local people defined Blue Ridge as a separate community, which was not only typical of the township, but **probably** typical of much of the sub-region of the western part of the state. Following these checks, we did a study of the total population of seventy-six families—twenty-one "better" class, thirty-six "get by," and nineteen "sorry" class families.

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[*] We were guided in this approach to securing data on crises by the work of Alvin Gouldner, *Wildcat Strike*, (Yellow Springs: The Antioch Press), pp. 125-129, for operations to analyze tensions or crises.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORICAL AND REGIONAL SETTING OF THE PROBLEM[1]

Geography and Location[2]

Blue Ridge lies in the Toe River Valley in the southern Appalachian Mountains. This Valley is really a 687 square mile sub-region entirely surrounded by mountains and connecting ridges. It is bounded on the south by the Black Mountains, on the north by the divide that connects the Blue Ridge with the Smokies, and on the west by segments of the Smokies known as Bald Mountain, Unaka Mountain, and the Iron Mountain. The setting is thus a hilly area enclosed by a triangle of mountains and connecting ridges creating a serious barrier to settlement and development, as will be discussed subsequently.

The Toe River drains the entire valley and much of the area's life revolves around the river and the numerous creeks and coves that branch off from it. The sub-region is called the Toe River Valley, which emphasizes the river's importance. The South and North rivers flow through the southern and northern forks of the valley, broken on either side by small valleys. As a rule, coves, which settlers sought out for their fertile bottomland, are at the head of these.

There are considerable mountains as well as many smaller hills within this valley area. The average elevation is 2000 feet, with Mt. Mitchell the highest point at 6684 feet. Thus, one gets a picture of an encased triangle, mountainous terrain, with innumerable coves and creeks in which settlement took place. Within the confines of this area, there later resulted a period of considerable isolation. At this point, we have a picture of the geographical setting and the isolation problems posed. Let us now turn to the resource base of this setting and the possibilities it offered for economic development.

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[1] Howard W. Odum and Harry E. Moore, *American Regionalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1938), pp. 3-34; Amos Hawley, *Human Ecology* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1950); pp. 36-65, 66-67; Robin Williams, *American Society*, second edition, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), pp. 7-18. We assumed that a knowledge of the history and the region was essential to understanding this changing community.

[2] Jason Basil Deyton, "The Toe River Valley to 1865," *The North Carolina Historical Quarterly*, 34 (October, 1947), pp. 423-466. This summary is largely extracted from this article, the only historical work on the area, and from personal interviews with Mr. Deyton.

Resources

There are numerous and varied types of minerals in the area which is one of the most diversified spots in the country for minerals. Kaolin, clays, feldspar, and mica, for example, were available but not produced for export until about 1910 when market demand encouraged their extraction. Dolomitic marble was found near Sink Hole Creek; magnetic iron was found near Buladean, but extraction has never been profitable due to high marketing costs. As for flora, this has historically been a botanist's paradise. There is a wider variety of plants in this section than in any other temperate region except Japan, though the flora's economic value has been restricted to timber.

The cove and bottom land were conducive to subsistence farming, especially cereal crops. The rivers teemed with fish. The woods were full of game, such as bear, deer, and wild pigs. The availability of grazing lands and the growing of cereal crops stirred an interest in making this area a cattle producing section. Unfortunately, the uncertainty of the markets and the later lure of working in mica discouraged this. Fruit growing was possible, but never developed other than for home consumption because there were no markets. Tobacco could be grown, but this was not started until the 1930's.

From out of these possibilities the pioneer settlers of the region selected small-scale, subsistence agriculture to make their living. Hunting and fishing provided additional sources of food. The bases for timbering and mineral production were available, but were not developed until technology, transportation, and market demands encouraged their development. This was a folk-type society, rooted to the land.[3]

Obviously, these geographical and topographical features influenced cultural development. Throughout the 1700's and 1800's the people of the region lived a self-sufficing life on small farms, adding food by fishing and hunting. Life was hard, but a livelihood was available with hard work and mutual help. Families lived closely together and worked family land holdings. Isolated by high mountains, the settlers found themselves with few opportunities to associate with outsiders. They lived unto themselves, self-sufficient and self-reliant. Roads, industry, schools, and the simpler luxuries were slow to come. Social isolation functioned to leave their customs unchanged for almost a hundred years, until the turn of the twentieth century. With little incentive or opportunity to progress or change, conservatism was the keynote.[4] The traditionalism so much a part of their way of life is characteristic of this type of isolated society.[5]

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[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 424-428.

Historical Development

According to the area historian, there was a belief that Spaniards seeking precious metals between 1540 and 1690 were the first to come into the Toe River Valley.[6] Cherokee Indians, said to have told stories about the Spaniards, used this area for hunting before the coming of white settlers around 1771. The early settlers were mostly English and Scotch-Irish, with a few Welsh and Germans. By 1790 the census listed eighty families living in the Toe River Valley, many of whose names still exist today.

Why did they settle this isolated area? A few were speculators seeking precious minerals thought to be available. Others saw it as a fine place to develop a thriving livestock economy. Some were criminals hiding out in the hills. Still others were Revolutionary War Tories escaping to a place of safety. But most came as hunters who wanted freedom and independence and land. Still others wanted cheaper land in large quantities. In about 1785, land grants fed the great appetite for owning one's own land. As long as the westward migrations moved through this area, gradual settlement continued. However by 1830, this migration west practically stopped passing through this area, and when this happened the already relatively isolated population was further cut off from outside contacts. The homogeneity of the way of life was thus encouraged.

According to our regional historian, living in those early times was very hard.[7] At first there was danger from Indians, and there were many beasts of prey. All in all, it was difficult terrain in which to make a living. Out of this developed a group mode of handling the problems of survival. Land had to be cleared; settlers had to provide their own services, and they were dependent on the whims of nature to live. Mutual dependence became important. Corn huskings, log rollings, house raisings became family and neighbor enterprises. Setting out the crops and bringing in the harvest meant families exchanged labor to get these tasks done. If one man was sick, his neighbor would help out. If one had a bad year and food was scarce, others would help out. Group help meant security in time of want and need; mutual help insured that the harvest would be gathered in time. This complex of patterns persisted well into the 1900's.

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 429.

[5] Howard Odum, "Folk Sociology as a Subject Field for the Historical Study of Total Human Society and the Empirical Study of Group Behavior," *Social Forces*, 31 (March, 1953), pp. 143-223; Robert Redfield, "The Natural History of the Folk Society," *Social Forces*, 31 (March, 1953), pp. 224-228; Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (January, 1947), pp. 293-308.

[6] Deyton, *op. cit.*, 428.

[7] Deyton, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

The years 1830 to 1860 were ones of considerable isolation because westward migrants had practically stopped moving through this area. Road building was almost non-existent in the country. State road building centered on the eastern and central parts of the state. Within the counties, the biggest problem was that of useable roads in the area and roads linked to outside towns. Difficult transportation, especially in winter, created a period of few newcomers and increased isolation.[8]

Not only was the area isolated by the end of migrations and the inaccessibility to transportation, but schools were very slow to develop. For example, the county did not participate in the State Literary Fund before 1844, apparently because no public education existed prior to this time.

In 1845, a high school was built by the Methodists, but it was not free, so only the wealthy could attend.

All in all, scant attention was given to education prior to 1860 and little more until after World War II. Consequently, the people were isolated from new ideas as well as from general knowledge. This acted to reinforce their traditionalism and conservatism.[9]

The economy remained subsistence agriculture, supplemented by hunting and fishing. What people needed, they made themselves—clothes, shoes, household furnishings. They lived by raising cattle, sheep, and swine. They produced wool, flax seeds, orchard products, hay, wheat, rye, corn, potatoes, butter, and home-manufactured products. Barter was common. Such necessities as salt, sugar, and coffee were secured in South Carolina and Georgia on occasional marketing trips, when it was the custom for several families to pool for sending to market articles they produced—bacon, lard, dried fruits, deer hams, honey and bees' wax. These trips took from thirty to sixty days and the cost of one-way transportation, ranging from $1.75 to $2.00 per hundredweight, took up most of the receipts. Thus, there was very little profit in marketing produce. There were no towns in the area of any size to serve as markets. Even for wage work in 1850, for example, there were only two sawmills in the three counties.[10]

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[8] Deyton, *op. cit.*, p. 447.
[9] Deyton, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

From this period of settlement to the turn of the twentieth century, which we are examining as regional history, religion was a strong and controlling factor in the life of the people.[11] There were churches from the beginning. By 1850, twenty-one of the twenty-nine churches were Baptist, the others Methodist. Fundamentalism and emotionalism were characteristic and deep-rooted in the ways of the people. One might have expected them to be Presbyterian, considering their Scotch-Irish background, but since they settled the area as individuals and families, they brought no ministers with them. Consequently, they were organized by visiting Methodist and Baptist circuit riders. Even though religion and the moral order were most important, services were rare; once or twice every two months was the average. Religion was deeply personal. Fundamentalism, the literal truth of the Bible, was strong and generally set a single religious perspective until the coming of urban and educational influences brought other points of view. Singleness of religious viewpoint is said to be characteristic of isolated folk societies.[12]

The patterns of leisure also reflected the isolation and folk characteristics of the sub-regional area. Visiting, corn shuckings, log rollings, sings, picnics, and neighborhood gatherings were popular. These activities were with one's primary group—kin and neighbors. Next, drinking, boxing, and wrestling were among the favorite sports for men. But this exuberance sometimes got out of hand. For example, the records show that in 1837 fourteen criminal cases included ten for assualt and battery. In 1840, thirty-one out of fifty-five criminal cases were for fighting, though this large figure was influenced by the elections that fall. It is also interesting that distilling, retailing, and drinking liquor was common among all classes, even ministers who considered it a right to make whiskey for enjoyment and leisure. A man was thought to have just as much right to measure his yield in gallons as in bushels. Local demand used the greatest part of the production. In those days social gatherings called for drinking, against which no serious religious objections seem to have been raised.[13] This was to change.

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[10] Deyton, *op. cit.*, pp. 454-458.

[11] *Ibid., pp.* 454-458.

[12] Robert Redfield, *The Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 36; Fred W. Voget, "The Folk Society—An Anthropological Application," *Social Forces*, 33 (December, 1954), p. 107.

During this period there was one major outside source of change: the Civil War. About one fourth of the people were pro-Union and anti-slavery,[14] the rest went into the service and fought at Bentonville, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and Atlanta. Although poverty was insignificant before the war, it became a very great problem during the war when the entire population suffered from heavy taxation and the lack of salt and soda. Smallpox broke out, law enforcement broke down, and crime became a considerable problem. Added to all this, Confederate Army deserters organized robber gangs in the hills and the Toe River Valley was infested with them. Consequently, home guards, organized to protect life and property, punished criminals, rounded up deserters, and punished neighbors who were anti-slavery and pro-Northern; enduring family hatreds were engendered during this period.

Later these political conflicts brought about new county boundaries. The Northern section of the region lined up with the Radicals or as Republicans; the Southern section lined up with Jackson and the Democrats. The Toe Valley ceased to be a politically homogeneous region. The breaches that widened over the years are still political conflicts.[15]

From the end of the Civil War to the building of the railroads in 1907 and World War I, the Toe Valley returned to its relative isolation from the rest of the region, state, and nation with little change. An illustration of this cultural isolation is given in the estimated twenty-five to thirty men in a nearby county who refused to go into the service in World War I. They were reportedly reluctant, not out of fear of fighting, but of fear of leaving their mountain homes for the unknown outside. From World War I on, the region slowly moved into the influences of American life. Urbanization, communications, industrialization, and population growth were key changing processes, as we shall see. But before these changes took place, this area approximated a folk culture. It was a small homegeneous and self-sufficient society where personal or primary relationships predominated, and family relationships were of primary importance. Religion was very important. A simple division of labor expressed the small degree of specilization.[16]

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[13] Deyton, *op. cit.*, p. 457.
[14] Deyton, *p. cit.*, pp. 458-466.
[15] Deyton, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

In summary, we have a geographically mountainous and isolated subregion of the state, suited to farming, timbering, and mining. From 1830 until about World War I, this area was quite isolated and cut off from outside influences so that it retained its early eighteenth-century characteristics until well into the twentieth century. It was a family-centered, religiously oriented group living by self-sufficient agriculture and by hunting and fishing. In the religious structure, a strong and pervasive fundamentalism encouraged acceptance of this life and promised a better life after death. Neighborliness was another important value; it meant help in times of crisis or need or difficult undertakings. Rugged individualism, also important, probably provided motivation to cope with frontier lands. Isolation added to the entrenched conservatism of the area; there were few other choices. Also there was little education or outside contact to break the "cake of custom."

But all this was to change. The homogeneous, isolated culrure was caught up in the streams of American life from about World War I to the present, especially since World War II. New roles, new values, new relationships were to develop. The adaptive problems posed by these changes will be examined in subsequent chapters.

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[16] Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (January, 1947), pp. 293-308.

CHAPTER 4

THE COMMUNITY SETTING

Blue Ridge is located in the western mountains of North Carolina which have three distinctive regions: the mountains, the piedmont and the tidewater, whose cultural patterns are related to differing histories, differing economics and resources, and differing topography. Local people, quite aware of this regional variation, refer to themselves as mountain people. For example, one often hears the terms "flatlander" or "outlander" used to refer to those who live in the more level parts of Piedmont State.

There is considerable sensitivity to the use of terms "hillbilly" and "mountaineer." They may use the term "hillbilly" among themselves, but if an outsider does so he is often considered to be derogatory and belittling. They react in the same way to "backwoodsman," which means backwards to them. While "mountaineers" is a more acceptable term of identification because it refers to sturdy pioneers, many are quite sensitive to being objects of fun, to being termed illiterate and backward. They feel that much that has been written about this area has been of a condescending nature, or has pictured them as ignorant, backward, impoverished people. One book[2] written about this area highlighted, so they feel, the unique and peculiar. An article about the area in a national magazine[3] stimulated a good deal of anger because it used the term "backwoodsman" and copied old types of speech which many felt was used to make them look ignorant; the term "backwoodsman" defined them as such. In fact, this present study was made

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[1] Howard W. Odum, "Folk Sociology as a Subject Field for the Historical Study of Total Human Society and the Empirical Study of Group Behavior," *Social Forces*, 31 (March, 1953), pp. 193-223; Robin Williams, *American Society*. Second Edition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), p. 7; Blaine Mercer, *The American Community* (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 30. See also A. W. Hawley, *Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure* (New York: Ronald Press, 1950), pp. 33-65 J. E. Quinn, *Human Ecology* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1950), p. 3; John P. Gillin, *The Way of Man* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948), pp. 198-220.

[2] Muriel E. Shepard, *Cabin in the Laurels.* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1935).

[3] Malcolm Ross, "My Neighbors Hold to Mountain Ways: Blue Ridge People of North Carolina 'Stick to Their Fancy' in Preserving a Life Their Pioneer Forebears Knew," *National Geographic Magazine*, 108 (June, 1958), 856-880.

most difficult because of the fear among the people of being seen as backward. For example, one early visit found an informant working in her garden. "Now you have seen a mountain woman. What do you think?" She asked with obvious defensiveness.

A most reputable historian of the area, also a native, indicates further the general sensitivity, regardless of class, to being seen as subordinate by outsiders:

> The history of the more isolated sections of the mountains of North Carolina has not received the attention from historians that it justly deserves. Such accounts as have been written are inadequate and in many cases totally misleading. The field has been a rich one for the feature writer, who has loved to paint the lurid pictures of crime, laziness, and ignorance; but such writers have refused, or at least have failed, to see the progress that has been made in these regions, and most of all they have failed to understand that an intelligent planning and leadership have been present quite as much as in the better known regions. The notion has been spread abroad that the pockets in the Carolina Mountains were infested with an inferior people who were incapable of self direction, who were unambitious, shiftless, and reckless.[4]

More specific data on the environmental setting is in order. The community is in the heart of the small valley formed by high mountains on either side, reminding the observer of a cul-de-sac. In order to reach Blue Ridge from the piedmont section of the state, one ascends a high ridge, rising from the plains, circles his way slowly up a winding steep road and down into a mountain gap. Mountains tower on both sides. The drive is near a rushing stream that has its headwaters near Mt. Mitchell, the highest peak this side of the Mississippi. At this point, the meaning of the term "flatlander" should be driven home to the observer, as well as the terms "hillbilly," "backwoodsman," and "mountaineer." One can quickly visualize the contrast of flatlands to mountains. One drives along the floor of the valley for about fourteen miles until he comes out of the valley formed by the mountains to the south and the mountain ranges to the east and west. At this point the township ends. From then on, it is the rolling hills of the county.

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[4] Jason B. Deyton, "The Toe River Valley to 1865," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 24 (October, 1947), p. 423.

Blue Ridge lies about in the center of the township. Its houses are located along the paved road and along the creeks that stretch back up the coves to the east and west. The land is fairly level near the road and stream, but as one moves away from the creek, it becomes hillier. The soil is suitable for raising tobacco, corn, oats, rye, hay, forage, and garden vegetables. Timber and minerals, especially mica, constitute the other known natural resources, except for the scenery, which is slowly and only recently becoming an attraction for summer tourists. Due to the small size of the farms, soil erosion by indiscriminate timbering, the hilly land, and the absence of markets, large-scale mechanized agriculture is not profitable, except for a few remaining larger land holders. The present small plots are a consequence of years of dividing the land among heirs in a time of large families.

Summers, like the growing season, are fairly short. For example, growing of apples and peaches in commercial quanties is quite risky. Summer nights are usually cool and the days quite comfortable and rarely sultry. This has added to the tourist attraction of the area. The winters are cold, but not too severe. For example, one can normally negotiate the mountain road to Industry City[5] during the winters, though snow and ice will occasionally keep local people from going to work.

What we find here is an illustration of the hypothesis of minimum ecological distance.[6] The area has never been able to market competitively due to high costs of transporation and production. The environment has set limitations for social and economic accessibility. It has been too far away to minimize costs and thereby compete successfully with other agricultural marketing communities.

A brief picture of the comparative population profile of Blue Ridge shows how Appalachian County,[7] in which the community lies, compares on a state basis in selected demographic characteristics. Because local data of this sort were not available, county data were used. Table 1 illustrates the demographic changes between 1950 and 1960.

There are several outstanding facts in Table I. First of all, the county had a decrease in population of 5.2 percent. Between 1950 and 1960, the county population decreased by 14.1 percent,[8] partly because of out-migration. Table II shows that thirty of sixty-four households had at least one member living away. Table III shows generally where they have gone; over half remained in the state. Another prominent fact is the $1,212 income in the county, compared to a North Carolina county average of $2,121. This picture is further illuminated by the 73.5 percent who make less than $2,000 a year and the very small 3.2 percent who make more than $5,000 per year.[9]

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[5] This is a psuedonym.

[6] Quinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-286.

[7] This is a pseudonym.

As for education, the county seemed to be holding its own. In 1950, of those twenty-five years or older, we found a median school year completed of 7, as compared to the state average of 7.9. By 1960, the median school year completed by those twenty-five years or older, was 7.7. As shown in Table I, the percent finishing high school between 1950-1960 doubled from 10.1 to 21.7. The dominance of agriculture is shown by the 50.8 and 51.4 percent of the labor force in such employment. The low level of industrialization is shown in the 15.1 percent so employed in 1950. Urbanization in an occupational sense is illustrated by the doubling by 1960 to 30.0 percent of the work force in manufacturing (Table I).

TABLE I

SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC
INDICES 1950-60

Indices	1950	1960
Population	16,306	14,008
Population Changes	–5.2%	–14.1%
Median Income	$1,212	$2,445
Less than $2,000	73.5%	60.3%
$5,000 or more	3.2%	2.7%
School Completed		
Less than 5 yrs.	27.6%	21.1%
High School or more	10.1%	21.7%
Percent Employed in Agriculture	50.8%	51.4%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing	15.1%	30.1%
Urban-Rural Residence		
Urban	0	0

From *County and City Data Book*, 1952 and 1967. Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

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[8] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, North Carolina (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 14.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Blue Ridge thus lies in a mountainous area in a largely agricultural county with a low level of income, whether from industrial or farm sources. Indeed, in 1950 and 1960, there was still no population center that could be classified as urban. This factor must be considered in terms of a relatively small population, since the county total in 1950 was 16,306, compared with a North Carolina county average of 40,619.

Thus, the persistent fear of being seen as "backward mountain people" summarizes their isolated location, the mountainous setting, and the limited economic resources of the area. As shown in the demographic data, 1950-1960 was a period of increasing urbanization—doubled the number in manufacturing occupations from 15.1 to 30.1—and increased education, both fundamental sources of social change.

TABLE II

Appalachian Community Households With No Members Living Outside the County
June 1957

Family Migrant Status	Number	Percent
Number of families with at least one member living outside the county	30	46.8
Number of families with no members	34	56.2

TABLE III

Points of Migration for Appalachian Community Families
June 1957

Place	Number	Percent
Immediate Contiguous Counties	25	42.3
Remainder of State	9	15.3
Southern States	10	16.9
Other States	15	25.4
Total	59	100.0

CHAPTER 5

"THE OLD TIMEY PERIOD" AND SOURCES OF CHANGE

This chapter develops an overview of what the folk—or pre-urban—period was like in Blue Ridge, and the sources of social change.

Definitions of a folk small-scale, or sacred society, however one wishes to term it, are very similar.[1] The definition used here is that of Robert Redfield, who defined the folk culture as "small, isolated, non-literate, and homegeneous with the strong sense of group solidarity."[2] His more specific criteria for this type of society are:[3]

1. Isolation: physically and by community. The people are isolated from outside social contacts. Travel and the range of communications of fact are narrow.
2. Homegeneity: The people are much alike. A common belief system tends to make what one man believes similar to most others, with small generational differences in culture.
3. Solidarity: a strong sense of belonging is characteristic.
4. Technology: the tools with which to cope with the environment are simple in comparison to those in industrial systems.
5. Division of labor: such division is minimal. What one person does another does.
6. Economic independence: ideally, they produce what they consume and consume what they produce. In other words, they are self-sufficient.
7. Conventional behavior is strongly patterned.

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[1] See Howard W. Odum, "Folk Sociology as a Field Study for the Historical Study of Total Human Society and the Empirical Study of Group Behavior," *Social Forces*, 31 (March, 1955) pp. 193-223; Ferdinand Tonnies, *Community and Society*, ed. Charles B. Loomis (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957); Robert Redfield, *The Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956) ; Alvin Boskoff, "Structure, Function, and Folk Society," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (December, 1949), pp. 751-752; Howard Becker, "Current Sacred-Secular Theory and its Development," *Modern Sociological Theory*, ed. Howard Becker, and Alvin Boskoff (New York: Dryden Press, 1957), pp. 133-186.

[2] Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (January, 1947) , p. 293.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 293-308.

8. The ends of society are taken as given. The traditional provides the design for living and is not reflected upon.

9. Status: ascribed at birth.

10. Not impersonal: people are treated as persons, not things.

11. Kinship connections in the ideal folk society provide a pattern in which all personal relations are conventionalized and categorized. It is familially oriented, and it is the family group that acts and is acted upon.

12. Sacredness of values: one may not challenge the values that have become traditional.

13. Religious and kinship ties are central: these institutions provide the basic guides for behavior. For Redfield, this then is a minimum set of criteria of the **ideal folk society.**

Although these are ideal criteria, Blue Ridge, prior to the impact of the larger society, came quite close to the ideal[4] folk society. At the risk of repetition, but for the sake of emphasis, we will indicate the broad patterns before urbanization. The family was the primary unit of social organization with close solidarity. Most social relationships were defined in terms of kinship. Next, religion was pervasively important. One's own beliefs were similar to all others in the community. Protestant fundamentalism generally set a single religious point of view. The community was small and geographically, socially, and intellectually isolated. There was little contact with outside influences. Poor transportation and high mountains kept it isolated from other areas and the larger American society. Subsistence agriculture, in addition, was the major source of livelihood, along with some hunting and fishing. Next, the division of labor was minimal. Most men, for example, were jacks-of-all-trades. What one did, the others could do. Then traditionalism and conservatism were the keynote. The way of life changed little for almost a hundred years and technology was rudimentary, with the axe, plow, and rifle the major tools with which to earn a living. Therefore, when compared to the indicated criteria, Blue Ridge was in most respects a folk type of society prior to World War I.[5] Indeed, much that was folk persisted well into the thirties and remains even today. The apparent truth of this will be further attested to in the remainder of the manuscript.

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[4] For the basis of using ideal types, see Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*. Second edition (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 603-606; John C. McKinney, "Constructive Typology and Social Research," *Introduction to Social Research*, ed. John T. Doby, (Harrisburg: The Stackpole Co., 1954), p. 145.

To discuss the very general folk characteristics of the community is not sufficient, however, because it was not entirely homogeneous and undifferentiated. Social differences in style of life have always been a part of the social structure of Blue Ridge, even in its most folk-like period. Even so, at that time, the differences in style of life were not at all great in an economy in which money was scarce for all, economic differences minor. Occupationally, there was little differentiation—most were farmers of varying size holdings. Egalitarian values encouraged people not to be very conscious of class. Finally, since most were related by kinship, class differences were apparently somewhat muted. Nonetheless, the community did have roughly three classes of people, if differing styles of life are indicators.[6] In order to understand the impact of change on the three very distinct classes of present-day Blue Ridge, it is therefore necessary to examine the historical origin of these classes and their major structural differences.

When asked how many different types of life styles existed here, informants indicated three, describing the origin of these classes as follows. The first people to settle in the late 1700's and early 1800's, as a rule, secured larger land holdings. They became the "better" names and more well to do. They were the larger and more prosperous farmers. Later, small land holders came into the area and "squatted" or bought land. Inheritances also created small holders. It was hard to buy very much land in those times, as the old settlers preferred to keep it to pass on to their children. The practice was to divide the land among the heirs, which served to hold families close by. It was said that the origin of the lowest group was in the renters and squatters and timberers who came even later. Timbering and sawmilling is said to have contributed to this rough, hard drinking, and economically marginal group. This was the "bad class" of those times.

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[5] Redfield, *op. cit.*, p. 293. Ideal types are heuristic; no folk society corresponds precisely to these definitions. We felt it necessary to establish the general brush strokes of the culture prior to the impact of urbanization.

[6] Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1957), pp. 12-14.

Besides these factors based on time of settlement, there were other factors of social evaluation at work. Some families were ranked higher than others. For example, there were the "jacket Smiths," upper class, and the "blacksmith Smiths," lower class, but they were kin to each other, although some dispute this. But it must be emphasized that class differences were not great. Two informants illustrate the point of unequal evaluations and differing life styles:

> Yes, we have always had three classes of people here. It hasn't changed much at all in that respect for as far as I could remember. Now, mind you, there wasn't too much difference between the better class and the middle group. The better class had large land holdings and they managed their money and work. The middle group were industrious, small holders, and poor managers. The lowest group just hung on to live. The lowest group we knew not to ever associate with. I knew not to go out with them. They were renters or just bare subsistence people who were lazy, except to hunt and fish. The middle group worked hard. They were later settlers, as a rule. They bought some land from the older settlers who had huge plots. They never had more than a hundred acres, while the old families had thousands of acres. The old families didn't like to sell - they divided the land among their children. They all lived close then. Families were so scattered out, they had to. There weren't too many settlers here. They were all religious; they didn't have anything else to do. This better class had the better educations. As a rule they could afford to send their sons to boarding school in Burnsville. These families could do it. The others had to take what little was here at that time. They were all living close then and tried to help each other, except maybe for that sorry group. They hunted and fished and log rollings and quiltings. That all died out by the twenties. They were all farmers. When timbering and mica came along, many turned to that. The large land holders sold timber and rail logs to the railroad when they built it. We had new settlers come in with these activities. Look at the names. These are the events that began to make up a part of the 'get-by' class of people. Some of the better class went into that too. I had two brothers who made a lot of money selling mica. Yes, some of that middle group went up in wealth as time went on. It was sorta' fluid, I guess.

We had the better class of people, the in-between group or the second class, and the rogues. This is still true. We've always had all three types. The Civil War added greatly to that rogue group. Common criminals and deserters came in and hid out here. It is this group they liked to write about, not about the better people. They were often renters in this group. Some of the men farmed a bit and hired out; a lot of them did nothing. Their women worked hard about the house. I don't know how they made a living. You realize we all had it hard then. This group was a bunch of heathens. They usually didn't belong to the church. They couldn't have slid any further back. They'd just fish and hunt. They lived up the branches. We were warned not to associate with them. They were rogues who stole part of what they lived off of. They just sat. They existed and that is all. You are finding out about us. You have done well for a stranger, very well. I can tell by the sort of questions you have been asking me now. The second class came into this section a little later than the better class. You know the better class names. They got the best and larger land areas. This second group were the small holders. They worked hard and got by okay. Some of them married into the better group and raised themselves. In the recent years, I know some of them have gone off and gotten educations and are now in the better class. We didn't have a caste system like they do or did in the Deep South. The men and women in this group both worked the fields. So did the families. The women did the usual home work with their daughters. The men were the bosses. I heard a Frenchman talking about this not too long ago. He said the women were taking over here and the men were becoming feminine. I think that is bad. They were good church people. They were okay. Now don't think they were all that good. That wouldn't be true. They had family visits and log rollings and cake walks, such as that in their spare time. There wasn't much. Their sons stayed on with them until public jobs came along. They didn't have too much education then either. The better class owned the large farms. We were good to the others and helped them as we could. These were the oldest settlers as a rule. They weren't too many settlers here anyhow, you know. They were close families and worked together. The fathers always kept their land to pass on to their children. They wouldn't sell. The men farmed and sold timber when they could. They worked hard

> and were enterprising. This group, mind you, wasn't too very different from the second. They were good Christians. They were strong Baptists and Methodists. These mountains were always known for their being very religious. These people had the better educations. Some few got some college even. They lived close. They all worked together. All have scattered now, from all three groups. The land got broken into much small parts and the second group couldn't always buy the land it wanted.

In order to establish more precisely the basic structural features of the community prior to the differential impacts of urbanization, the following social profile provides the general basis for further internal comparisons of changes in the community and its sub-groupings:

	Upper Group 'Betters"	**Middle Group "Get Bys"**	**Lowest Group "Sorry"**
Ecology:	It was typical in all points of the continuum that families lived close to each other, sometimes in the same house. Family relationships were primary.		
Family:			
a. Female role	Housekeeper. This varied little by class.		
b. Male role	"Breadwinner" in all classes.		
c. Crisis role	Expected to help, prayers, work fields for you, help with food.	Much the same as in the upper.	Similar to the other two, but least of the three groups.
d. Cooperative role	Mutual aid, swap labor, visits.	Similar to upper but not quite as much.	Very little.
e. Role of the aged	Prestigeful, supported by family.	Same as in upper.	About the same as upper and middle.
f. Generational differences	Not widely different in values.	Not widely difent in values.	Not widely different in values.
Work:	Farmers (larger), merchants, teachers, hunters and fishermen, mica.	Small farmers hunters, and fisherman.	Renters, very small farmers, hunters and fisherman, gathers, loafers.
	Men were jacks-of-all-trades. A spirit of self-reliance and independence was typical throughout the community.		
Education:			
	Attended school more regularly. Were more educated.	Somewhat less schooling.	Least educated.
	This was a time when few got much education. Facilities were not available or people lived too far away from the school, which was open only a few months of the year.		

	"Betters" Upper Group	Middle Group "Get Bys"	Lowest Group "Sorry"
Status:	Throughout the community, there were three different styles of life. People differed by wealth, associations, values, and education, but consciousness of class was minimal. The range of economic difference was small. Family name was very important in ranking a family from high to low.		
Religion:	Strongly religious.	Strongly religious.	Also religious, but less so than the other two.
	Throughout the community, there were fundamentalists who, whether Baptist, Methodist, or Presbyterian, differed little in religious doctrine.		
Leisure:	Visiting, church, log rolling, singing, some drinking, wrestling, jokes, frolics, dancing, hunting, fishing.	About the same as the upper.	Much more drinking by the men. Less visiting and more "good times."
Neighborhood:			
a. Identification	People usually were identified by and with their family settlement, or cove.		
b. Cooperation	Mutual aid, prayer meetings, log rollings, strong ties.	Less than in the upper.	The least of all in the community.
c. Crisis role	Very helpful, food care for fields, loans.	Very similar to upper.	Somewhat like the other two, but still the least of all in the way of solidarity.

These, then, are the general features of Blue Ridge at the turn of the twentieth century.[7] Even at that time, some groups were closer to the ideal criteria of the folk than others. But this construct is an ideal one. Expecting differential adherence to the values within a society, it is not surprising that there was a continuum of the folk characteristics. Yet, as we shall see, these groups were differentially affected by the changes of urbanization because change is an uneven process, and some group values and coping resources permit easier transitions than others.

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[7] This profile was constructed from responses of informants who were in their later years. I talked with every available, sufficiently knowledge person, 65 and over This information was then double-checked by comparisons among informants, then by talks with three experts on the area. It was then checked by younger informants who had heard the same information from their parents. With all this care, the reconstruction of patterns of a time forty and fifty years ago is fraught with questions of validity and reliability. Every possible check was used. Even so, in order to be safe with our information, we have stated it, when necessary, with qualifications. *Reconstruction, necessary to a change study, is a tricky and risky business, to say the least. Consequently, we are vulnerable to challenges, but we have exercised every available technique to secure accurate data.*

It should be emphasized that this very general profile of the social structure at the turn of the twentieth century represents the views held by older informants of what it was like then. The value of even such an imprecise view is that we get a picture of the base line, the point prior to the beginning of transformations to the more urban-influenced community of today.

Having established the base line of what the social structure of the community was generally like prior to the expanded impacts of change, it is now necessary briefly to recapitulate those mechanisms which contributed importantly to initiating the change processes. The sources of external and internal changes of major theoretical interest that are examined in this chapter are.[8]

External sources of change:

a) Environmental conditions. This would include both increased control of environment, made possible by techniques and science, and the depletion or discovery of natural resources.[9]

b) Technological. Changes in the means available for coping with the natural environment.[10]

c) Social situation of the system. This means that there is an increase in social interaction and influence exerted by other social systems.[11]

d) Communication of alternative value-orientations. Through new communications, alternate goals, moral norms, and the ordering of goals as to their importance provide another impetus to change within the affected system.[12]

Internal sources of change:

a) Value integration. Value-orientations are never completely integrated in the sense of perfect consistency, nor are they evenly distributed among the different parts of the society. Consequently, there is an inherent source of instability and hence a susceptibility to change.[13]

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[8] This organizing scheme is based on Talcott Parsons and Edward S. Shils, ed. *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 320-331. I think this is an overlooked set of categories for ordering sources of social system change in a systematic way.

[9] Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge: University Press, 1954), p. 42; Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

[10] Wilson and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Parsons and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

[11] Parsons and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

[12] I am indebted to Dr. Harvey L. Smith for suggesting this very important source of change.

b) Tendencies to deviate. There are assumed to be inherent tendencies to deviate within any social system.[14] We focus on several such instances which had change reverberations within the system.

c) Cultural value orientation. This may encourage development or change. The value placed on change and development (for example, achievement orientation) encourages changes in the system. Value orientations could likewise encourage stability.[15]

d) Population pressures. An increase in numbers and increased social interdependence affect the entire social and cultural organization and its adaptation to the environtment.[16]

e) Expansion of division of labor. The change and multiplication of occupations from the agricultural to more skilled is a central aspect of urbanization; this is a source of change which dramatically alters the previous system, setting into motion many changes throughout the particular system.[17]

f) Strains in the system. Structured strains at any given time may give rise to conflicts which may involve the structural reorganization of the system.[18]

We will now deal with the mechanisms which initiated changes in Blue Ridge. One of the first factors to break down the relative isolation of Blue Ridge was the building of the railroad to a nearby town in 1907-09. To dramatize one effect of this new contact, immigrant Italian labor was used to build this railroad, and today the term "wop" is used to refer to any outsider. Anyhow, contacts with the outside were facilitated by the new railroad. It provided economical and speedy transportation so that commercial timbering and mica mining were made possible and profitable. Indeed, the finest timber was stripped out indiscriminately at a furious pace of cutting which lasted about five years, until

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[13] Parsons and Shils. *op. cit.*, p. 231.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[16] Wilson and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[17] Emile Durkeim, *The Division of Labor in Society*. Reprinted (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 256-283.

[18] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 493. Although there might be some overlap in Parsons' categories, these proved useful as organizing criteria.

World War I. This helped set in motion serious soil erosion which in turn lowered the productive value of the land. The railroad was also the first important link to the national economy. This technological change permitted not only new outside communications, but also new means of coping with the environment.

The next important factor in the sequence of change events was World War I. The outside world reached in to pull men out of their own isolated worlds, thus dramatically forcing many into their first contacts outside the isolated coves and valleys. In general, war service provided external contacts that further opened Blue Ridge to the influences of the larger society and world. It was the first time many had ever left their little coves.

After World War I, with the increasing population, with soil eroded by indiscriminate lumbering, many people, pulled by the lure of good wages in nearby towns and pushed out by the poverty of the area, migrated to the new mills in the piedmont and to South Carolina.[19] As a result, many family members were scattered outside the little coves for the first time. This "broke up our families," as one informant put it. With kinfolk in nearby towns, social networks expanded from the local cove to the whole state and beyond.

At this time, the towns began to become important sources of influence. Outside sources of contact were increased in this way. New amusements and new wage-earning jobs were in the towns, not in the isolated coves. Towns were also new links in communications with the wider society. For example, when town preachers talked against Harry Emerson Fosdick's Protestant liberalism in the 1920's, the fundamentalist country people heard of this doctrinal conflict, and were immensely displeased because there was no questioning the Bible. This helped start the fundamentalism-modernism value conflict that runs deep in the religious life of the community today. What is sacred and what is profane became big issues. Important religious value orientations were questioned; alternatives were posed during this period.

Next, road building in the 1920's brought about further mechanisms of change. First, better roads made marketing of farm products easier. Prior to good, hard-surfaced roads, they had to use wagons on muddy trails. Good roads made the car feasible. It became easier to go to town. New roads signaled the real beginning of urban influences. Towns as places for jobs, towns for the doctor, towns as sources of secular values—these interconnections were hastened by the roads and cars. Finally, the building of roads created badly needed employment in the community. The desire for wages grew since subsistence agriculture was increasingly unproductive. Therefore, one had to sell his labor to live.

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[19] Glenn V. Fuguitt, "Part-Time Farming and the Push-Pull Hypothesis," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54 (January, 1959), pp. 375-379.

The building of the Blue Ridge Parkway in the 1930's set into motion new changes while adding to those already set in motion. First of all, new construction provided work in a work-hungry community. This in turn added to the occupational division of labor in a largely agricultural area. The depression had severely limited job opportunities until the road work became available. When completed, the Parkway was the source of new visitors to the area and provided another road to Asheville, the largest city in the area. The Parkway was also the source of recreation for local people—sight-seeing, picnics, etc. The building of the "scenic" put Blue Ridge closer to the flow of outside events, if no more than that they knew that outsiders were flowing past. They could see the car lights on the "scenic" at night, symbolizing another connection with the outside society.

The increased interconnection with the larger society was further felt in the great depression of the 1930's. The new dependency on wage work, made slack by the depression, created a period of dire poverty and hardship. Most of the community was made dependent on WPA in one way or another, either through direct subsistence or through jobs. This demonstrates the impact that economic interdependence can have, considering that they had once been self-sufficient people. "We were all poor then" is the kind of comment that expresses some of the meaning of this event.

During the thirties a high school built in a nearby town provided the first free high school in the area, an event that created several processes important to change. It made increased education feasible for the first time for a larger number of people. Second, by making such education possible, the literacy level of the community was raised. Thereby, the book, the written word, as a source of new knowledge and communications, became a new factor in opening the community to outside influences. Education gradually became a new value, and led to new aspirations, to wanting to change things, and to better living. Finally, a consolidated high school provided social contacts with people beyond the coves.

World War II was a very important event here. One informant sums up the consequences to the community:

> It was a revolution here. The boys went off to the war. Good jobs were available for the first time. This was the first real money we ever had. Men who didn't go to the service went off to defense work. They got good jobs around Marion and nearby at the carbide plant. People got to wanting more and more. They wanted to live better. Before the war, people were satisfied with what they had. If they had it good they were thankful; if they had it bad they accepted it. The war changed all that. People wanted money. That is the way it has become around here. The older folks without the right education can't do much now. The younger people can.

The man who had never been out of his cove had the opportunity to see much of the United States and visit European cities. One result of this exposure to other ways of life was to encourage new success values in the community. The veterans wanted to live better than in the log cabin that symbolized poverty. In a sense, they came back with value-orientations that often made them deviants in their own sub-culture. But they in turn helped establish alternate values about achievement in a money economy.

The expansion of communications is another significant factor in increasing scale. After World War II, the electrification of Blue Ridge resumed and was completed in 1952. Prior to World War II, there had been very little electricity. The greatest part of the community did not have electricity until between 1947-1952. With electrification, radio and television were made possible. Table VI shows how the number of electrical items increased between 1949 and 1957. For example, the number of radios doubled. Radio and television meant new leisure outlets as well as new sources of information. Washing machines and electric ranges meant an opportunity to ease the labors of the women. For example, the increase from zero to

201 washing machines is certainly dramatic (Table VI). Another illustration of the effects of electrification is that one could walk into one of the local stores and hear a television quiz program being discussed. This was a new kind of event.

This story is illustrative: A local woman told her grocer that she just had to have instant rice and complained that he did not have it. She **had** to have it. The storekeeper ordered a case of the rice. The lady left his store one day with her two boxes of instant rice. The next time she came back to shop, she purchased the usual rice. She had seen the instant rice advertised on her television set. She complained that you couldn't believe everything they told you.

As for other sources of new communications, reading other than the Bible is a relatively new pattern created by the new bookmobile. The lady who runs the bookmobile has made a special effort to support great numbers of books, such as religious novels, in keeping with local interests. As for other types of reading, the postmaster estimated this reading profile based on the mail delivered to 500 people:

Number	Reading Material
8	Saturday Evening Post
2	McCalls
3	Life
4	Look
20-25	Southern Planter
8-10	Farm Journal
30	Mountain City Citizen (Newspaper)
30	Mountain Record (Weekly Newspaper)
30	Mountain Valley View (Weekly Newspaper)
20	Mountain County News (Weekly Newspaper)
4	Household

It is noteworthy that the largest number of journals are farming-oriented. This meets the need of the area, for many still garden enough for subsistence. As indicated, reading for leisure or knowledge is a relatively new pattern in the culture. Electricity was not available before, and the custom is early to bed and early to rise, which does not allow for leisure reading. What reading is done is usually among the better educated

TABLE V

CHANGES IN HOME ELECTRICAL ITEMS,
MOUNTAIN TOWNSHIP AS OF
JANUARY 1, 1957

Item	January 1947	January 1957
Refrigerator	10	288
Radio	79	158
Television	0	96
Washing Machine	0	201
Electric Range	0	38
Number of Households	411	444

Source: Tax Books, Blue Ridge. Electricity first came into the township in 1946-47.

and "better" class. We know of several students who developed aspirations for an education and a wish to leave the community due to their reading experiences. Many of the middle and lower class, on the other hand, cannot read. Finally, since most fundamentalists believe that the only important reading material is the Bible, there were women who read other books secretly because their husbands did not consider anything else as fitting reading material.

Other important agents of change were at work after World War II. Between 1949 and 1957, the number of automobiles owned doubled from 80 to 160. With cars, people could go where they wanted, which ended more of the isolation. They could take a Sunday drive instead of going to church. They could drive to a job. But other important changes facilitated the ownership of cars. Industry in the form of three mills and other public work established in nearby towns after World War II provided steady work at good pay for the first time in the area's history. As a result, the economy took on a new stability as more and more men, joined by women, moved from agricultural to industrial jobs, a crucial mechanism in the urbanization process. The crises this created will be dealt with later.

With new industry, the towns have grown in size and influence, and their influence over the hinterland has been extended. Towns have become increasingly dominant, and are now the controlling centers for jobs and markets. Government services are secured through the town—welfare, conservation, forestry, and farm agents. Radio and newspapers come from these towns. Indeed, Blue Ridge's way of life is now interdependent with nearby towns, cities, and the larger society. The shift from self-sufficiency to economic dependency is now very great.

Finally, another agent of change in Blue Ridge has been a new "intentional" community founded in its midst in 1937. The settlers of this community were outsiders, several of whom were conscientious objectors. They were, as a result accorded a good deal of suspicion and hostility by local people, especially during World War II.

Even so, the "intentional" community has significantly influenced the area. First, it has provided the area with a modern health center and excellent, inexpensive medical care. Second, members of the "intentional" community provide leadership to the local school PTA. Several of the women have taught music to local children. In general, members of this community have made a point of encouraging education in the area. Several of the local young men and women who went on to college did so at the encouragement of members of the "intentional" community. These students often come back as deviants to their own culture, dissatisfied with fundamentalism and the lack of opportunity.

In summary, we have described the baseline of the folk period. The people were socially, culturally, and intellectually isolated. The mechanisms of change that transformed this "folk period" were the depletion of the soil on the one hand and the mining of mica on the other, along with an expanding technology that meant a change in the environmental conditions—from a subsistence agriculture, to an impoverished land, and to a new local industry. New contacts radically changed the flow of information, and hence the social situation of the community, which was increasingly caught up in the currents of contemporary American society. Correspondingly, new and alternative value-orientations were posed, especially liberalism and modernism in the religious sphere, and an achievement orientation instead of ascription in the economic and familial. All these changes created crises in the system, which will be examined in detail in following chapters organized around the culturally defined dissatisfactions created by social change, as initiated by the foregoing factors.

CHAPTER 6

"FAMILIES AREN'T CLOSE ANYMORE"

"Families aren't close anymore" or "family life isn't what it used to be" were themes conveying the realization of the extent to which family life had changed. These phrases reflect the general problem of change for families. More specifically, the problems of family solidarity, the new role of the aged, and a new role differentiation between men and women were key points of culturally defined dissatisfaction which had arisen as a result of the many changes in family structure.[1]

The Crisis Problem: "The family isn't what it used to be."

To begin with, the meaning of this problem can be illustrated in terms of several quotes from highly knowledgeable informants as they reflect on the dissatisfactions created by a changing family system.

> I don't know what has happened. We don't see very much of each other any more. It used to be that a family was close. It was a wonderful feeling. Now it seems everyone is for himself. Everyone is in a big hurry. Even visits are a rush. Now people are more interested in just getting things, it seems. They aren't satisfied either. I think people were happier back in the times when they had less. (Speaking was a very knowledgeable middle aged woman, who had kin in all classes and knew the community intimately.)

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> Money came in and everything changed. Life just isn't what it used to be. And it has happened fairly fast. Families have split up. The old folks are kinda' lost, it seems. What's women's work and what's man's work has changed. We live in a different world. What's best, the old or the new? I don't know. (This is a perceptive man in his early seventies, speaking with great accuracy about a common view of the changing social life of the community.)

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> We used to live together. Public works broke up our family circle. We left farming to go to public works. We

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[1] Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (January, 1947), pp. 292-308; William F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1922), pp. 312-335; Marion Levy, *The Structure of Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 299-388.

> left the farm in 1927. We came to and set up a cafe for a year. This happened to a lot of families; look at the (A) family and the (S) family. We came back after that year. But other families came to the mills here. They came to Clinchfield, to Crossmill, to Marion. They scattered out that way. My boys and girls followed each other. They wanted to work together. (This is an elderly woman speaking about her family, and many others as well. She would be ranked in the "sorry" class.)

While these can be taken as reasonably accurate summaries of general problems of a changing family system, we must pursue the meaning of the family changes even further.

Important earlier values are involved in the theme of "the family isn't what it used to be". Prior to the impact of social changes, especially urban influences, lineal and collateral relationships were of primary importance in defining and circumscribing social relationships. Today, in contrast, one's immediate family has priority over obligations to a larger kinship system.

A closer look at the values of the family system prior to the impact of urban influences discloses that in the "old" society family group members in all social classes typically lived near each other. The father would customarily give land to his children near the home place in order to perpetuate the system. As a result, one could describe coves that were X family land or Y family land. These were family groupings, a series of separate households in close proximity. For example, Rock Road was settled by the "G" and "H" families, two large famlies that lived unto themselves on this very large section of land. This aspect of the familial orientation was called the pattern of "kin living together." Along another creek, the three S brothers settled the entire cove in the 1820's. They lived close by and developed the close ties of cooperation necessary for economic survival at that time. Even today, the many descendents of the three founders of the "clan" are still conscious of their kinship and closeness.

"Pride in your family and kinship" expressed another aspect of the value put on family relationships. As several knowledgeable informants noted, each family took pride in itself. If you were a member of the X family, you were supposed to be proud of it; if your family name was impugned, you were expected in all cases to defend it because it would be a blow to your sense of familial honor. If a brother or close cousin were insulted, it reflected on you, as a member of that group as well, since a person usually identified himself with his family. For example, instead of saying "I am John Jones," a man would more likely say "I am a Jones."

Another expression of the importance of kinship was in the normative demand to "love" your kinfolks. In fact, family "fussing" was not unusual, especially in the lower class, though there were black sheep in some of the better families also. When this happened, it was not unusual to define them as not really being of the same family. In one family the least respected offspring were known as the Blacksmith B's, the more respected as the Jacket B's.

A final illustration of the value put on kinship relationships was the old practice of ascribing certain behavioral characteristics to family groupings. For example, if you met a Jones, you were to expect a good talker. If you met a member of the M family, you knew him to be a fighter. Each family, with little regard to social class, was known by family characteristics, such as being good hunters, thieves, smart people, big talkers, business dealers, fishermen, fighters, hot tempered, or smart traders, to name only a few. These were familial designations.

Several summarizing quotations from informants give us an additional perspective on the "old" family, as well as a beginning picture of what changed:

> It used to be that most all of a family lived nearby. They either lived on the home place or on their own place nearby. We were a family cluster. Now we have spread out. I think the splitting up of the land into such small pieces helped that along. Very few farmed anymore as a full time occupation. With the car we could move around more. Without farming we didn't need to be close and help out like we did. (This middle-aged man stated what the family was like and gives us several reasons why the old system changed.)
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> You usually found that the children lived either on the home place or on their own land nearby. It would be a family cluster. We knew the (M) settlement, the (S) settlement, and like that. On the Ridge, families would be four or five miles apart. They helped each other

> with the work. If the fields needed tending, everyone helped. Families were close. You knew that if you needed help, if you were sick or something, they would help you out. If it weren't your own kin, it would be a neighbor. We'd have log rollings and corn huskings. We'd have a party sometimes. Once the boys left whiskey bottles under the house, so we stopped that. This began to change in the 1900's and 1920's. It seemed that people started being for themselves. I explain it by people trying to be better than one another. It is the only thing I can think of. I can't think of any other reason. (This is a lady in her early seventies who knows the community very thoroughly.)

Before examining the mechanism which created family changes, let us look further at the role implications of the crisis of "family life isn't what it used to be." In the time before great changes in all classes, most of one's social roles were familial. In a sense, the family was a miniature society. For example, farm work was family work, because most occupational roles were within the family. Recreational roles were normally family roles as most leisure activities such as sewing parties or singing took place in a family context. Religious activities had a strong family connection, since there were few ministers. As a result, cottage prayer meetings were more common than church activities within the church groups. Most of the learning took place in the family, since schools were few and generally operated no longer than three months of the year. Status was usually derived from family reputation. Indeed, family life was the basic design for most roles in the pre-urban period. All of this was to change, as work, educational, religious, and leisure roles became increasingly separate spheres of life, in a more diversified society.

It is useful to comment briefly on the roles of men and women in the "old" times prior to World War I. In all classes, the role of the husband was to bring in the living. This meant that he farmed, hunted, and fished to supply food. He was usually a jack-of-all-trades—able to make shoes, chairs, and most household items. In contrast, the woman was the one who "made up what the man brought in." She was the fabricator of clothes and blankets, canner of food, manager of the house. She wove wool for clothes, canned food, and worked in the fields. A "good woman" was expected to be a hard worker and religious. Listen to an old timer describe the foregoing:

> Yep, it was a man's job to hunt and fish and make the fields produce. He was an outdoorman who could do anything. He could make what he won. If he had a good woman he was sure to make do. They used to say a bad woman could throw more out the back door with a spoon than a man could throw in with a shovel. With the coming of wage work, all of that began to change. It hasn't been the same since.

What was to change all of this? And in changing, in what ways was the family no longer the same?

Several factors helped bring considerable changes to the family system of the community. A changing division of labor in the occupational sphere was of great importance. With the coming of the railroad around 1907, timbering became a sizable industry and jobs opened in sawmilling. Mica mining became an important occupation around the time of World War I, providing work for drillers, blasters, and mechanics. Road building jobs became available in the 1920's and 1930's. In short, wage work became an alternate to subsistence agriculture as the number of occupational roles increased. As a result, many left farming, either totally or partially.

Population pressures increased during the 1920 to 1940 period, according to informants and statistics. From 1920 to 1930, for example, the population in the township increased by 16.1 percent,[2] from 1930 to 1940, by 27.7 percent.[3] Not only that, but the inheritance system served to break up some of the old features of the earliest families. With each child inheriting a part of the home place (and families were large in those days), holdings became increasingly smaller. Some farms shrank so much that by the 1950's, commercial agriculture was possible for only a very few families. Besides, careful husbandry was not a strong point in the community and its lack apparently led to a gradual decline in agricultural productivity.

Several other factors were important as well. During the 1920's, work in the mills and furniture factories was expanding. Many local men, pressed by growing families and the effect of poor farm practices, were taking jobs at the factories, apparently as a means of escaping a poor economic situation. World

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[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942), p. 774.

[3] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950. Population, II* (*Washington:* U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 18.

War II had a similar effect of encouraging men into wage work in defense jobs in the piedmont, or in northern urban centers. Many served in the armed forces and came back with greater aspirations than merely owning a cabin, a plot of ground, and tax money. Listen to a description of these factors:

> I'm old enough to know most of what happened here. I remember my father taking a job in a mica mine. He gave up the farm. He just let it grow over. He took work later on to build the roads, when the mica work became uncertain. My brother left here in 1927 to work in a mill in Marion. I took a defense job in Norfolk during World War II. It was the best money I ever made. My sons were in the war. They wouldn't stay here after they got back. It was too small for them. What would they do here? What has happened? My family has scattered to everywhere. It has all changed. We aren't close like we used to be. We do things differently today. It is all very different. The world has changed and it has changed us.

Today, the family system with its members scattered in many directions has to contend with an economy geared primarily to wage work and the great decline of subsistence agriculture. Consequently, the family is indeed no longer the same.

Three locally defined problems of family life permit us to analyze the impact of change on the family in more microscopic fashion. The problems of solidarity the new role of the aged, and the changing role complementarity of men and women were seen as important problems to the members of the community. They are likewise important considerations in understanding some of the central points of tension in family life. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to these three topics.[4]

The Steps of Structural Differentiation—Steps 1-7.[5]

A. The Problem of Solidarity

The problem of family solidarity has been defined and phrased differently in each social class. Modes of coping with the dissatisfactions stemming from family solidarity have varied by social class. Attempted solutions have been different and have progressed to different degrees of resolution in terms of Smelser's seven-point model of structural differentiation. Using this model, we will proceed to analyze this problem.

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[4] Throughout this monograph, we are describing *modal* patterns. Naturally, there were variations from the mode.

[5] *As throughout this monograph, precise time sequences proved unobtainable. Maybe our original goal of studying changes as we did is really not possible unless you are willing to accept as we did, at least, a first order approximation, as a necessary risk.*

Step 1. **System Defined Dissatisfaction.** In the "better" families, the issue of family solidarity is generally stated as follows: "It's not like it used to be, but we are still close." Solidarity has been threatened and changed, but the change has not been drastic. There is the feeling that folk patterns remain in terms of how they have attempted to work out a way of dealing with solidarity. Cooperative and crisis roles still exist, though less extensively than in earlier times. Social support continues. The people have come to solve at least a large part of the problem with a few or modified types of solidarity, as indicated in subsequent steps. A knowledgeable informant put her remaining dissatisfaction this way:

> I am not sure what has happened. It is not like it used to be. Family life used to be much closer, and we seemed to love each other more. We haven't given up our family connections. They are still important. I love them, but it's not like it used to be. I am sorry for that. (This woman in her forties gives a quite sensitive and accurate view of the kind of reaction in the "better" class.)

In the "get by" group, the dissatisfactions over a changing pattern of family solidarity are generally stated as: "We aren't close anymore." Previous patterns of familial cooperation and cohesion have changed; and these changes are regretted. There is also uncertainty about the past, the present, and the future. A knowledgeable informant stated:

> It has all changed. It had to. Life is not the same now. Farming as a way of life has changed. It was good before. We lived together and you knew who was close to you and who could help you. Now it's changed. I don't like it, but I don't know what to make of it.

In the "sorry" group, the problem of dissatisfaction over family solidarity is stated as: "We aren't close. You can't depend on kin." While this group's family solidarity has never been as strong as that noted for the previous two classes, it is claimed to be weaker today than in pre-urban times. Its point of dissatisfaction can be summed up in terms of a familial world that is not dependable, and this is seen with a considerable sense of hostility. It almost sounded to this observer like. "They don't love us". As one informant from this class put it,

> I guess we don't care much for each other. The other people look down upon us. So do our own people. You have to be on your own, you can't rely on your family, they don't care for you or for us, whoever it may be. We just aren't close, and we don't seem to care. This is true within a family or between households. No wonder we have so much fussin'.

The value background of these dissatisfactions requires some consideration. When we discussed the family system of the earlier period, it was pointed out that there was great emphasis in all classes on the family as an almost total society. Kinship was a core value, linking people both collaterally and lineally. The family was a major and predominating institution. Solidarity roles were of considerable importance. With the coming of wage work and the scattering of family members in all directions due to the lure of opportunity elsewhere, this system changed. Consequently, when we examine the dissatisfactions which exist over the problem of family solidarity roles, we are simultaneously viewing the conflicts which exist over one's basic obligations, the value put on the extended family, and the value placed on the nuclear family. Some were caught in the midst of this value-role dilemma and did not, at the time of the research, see a way out. One informant put his finger on the values behind this problem quite well:

> We lived in family clusters, rich to poor, it didn't matter much. Then with the coming of wage work over the last thirty years, much of this changed. Some folks have peace with this; some aren't sure what to make of it; and the sorry folks are wildly for themselves and to heck with everyone else. As they say in the navy, folks around here are going through a shakedown. (This informant is in his early twenties and knows his people with remarkable sensitivity. He had been away for almost two years of college and had become a bit of a marginal man. He was kin to families in all three classes.)

Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance.**[6] Given the existence of dissatisfaction, we expect to find some symptoms of disturbances. In the "better" class, evidence pointed to some personal conflict over family separation as a continuing symptom of family change. Among young married couples this problem usually took the form of the women refusing to leave the home area so their husbands could find work elsewhere. Generally, the husband desired to find a better job in a nearby city, but his wife feared leaving. In one case, a wife in her forties, developed a psychosis when her husband pushed her into a move to the city. She remained in Morgantown in the state hospital until he consented to return to the community; then she got well enough to leave the hospital. Her illness appeared to be closely linked to threats of separation from familial relationships.

There is in this class a commonly expressed sense of loss over sons and daughters who have left for Salisbury, Asheville, Norfolk, and other cities. Usually the realization is that these moves were for their child's benefit.

> Sure I know it was best for my two daughters and son to leave here for Asheville, Salisbury, and Norfolk. I miss them a lot. It won't be the same for us. I envy the families who have kept their children nearby. I guess this is the way it has got to be. (This mother was in her middle fifties.)

In the "get by" group, there are several symptoms which reflect, in part at least, some of the dissatisfactions which exist over family cohesion. Although gossip exists throughout the community, it is quite vicious in this group. As one informant put it, "You never hear anyone say what a good Christian someone is." Indeed, what do they gossip about? "About how others cannot seem to get along together." An observer would wonder if this was not a case of projection. Furthermore, they love to gossip about alleged infidelities and disloyalties of various sorts, such as the problem son or daughter. A great deal of fear is expressed over the possibilities of the men having affairs. Again, one wonders to what extent these fears are displacements or projections.

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[6] *It turned out that attempts of a one to one connection between dissatisfactions and symptoms were impossible. But reasonable approximations appeared attainable.* Future researchers will have been far more precise in discovering the dissatisfaction-symptom correlations.

> You sit down at the store, and you will hear them saying just about anything. It is rarely anything good either. It is not kind. They will talk about rumors. They will tell everything they hear about an argument going on next door. They are suspicious too. Sex is a big thing for gossiping. It's funny. People would like you to think they never think about such things. They love to talk about the next feller though.

Another related symptom in this group was that of internal family conflict. According to informants, this group has a very high frequency of family "fusses" (reportedly verbal fights) usually among men under the influence of alcohol. Several informants told the author they thought the disagreements often had to do with alleged sexual misbehavior, drinking, or a wife refusing to be bossed by her husband. Informants also indicated that these family conflicts were not usually constructive because the originating problems were not dealt with. Problems just festered. There apparently was little attempt to find solutions or compromises. In any case, evidence suggests the above to be indicative of important symptoms of family disturbance.

> I think I know them well. I am kin to a lot of them. They do fuss and fight a lot. It's not helpful fighting either. They just keep going. It would be hard for me to be very precise in telling you details. I hear about most of it. I don't see it. I guess you find some conflict in any family here. It's a rare family in any class here who will let you know much about them.

In the "sorry" class, there are other symptoms of disturbance. Probably the most outstanding is the family conflict which occasionally involves open aggression and fighting. In this group, family disputes can involve hitting and beating and even threats with a rifle, if the husband is sufficiently drunk. These conflicts also remain; participants rarely seek solutions to the disturbance. To be sure, these conflicts may involve more than dissatisfactions over family solidarity.

> They don't think. If a man is drunk, he is liable to do anything. Go up to (X) Creek. You will hear of beatings and shootings. Yet the woman will stay on when it happens. Their whole way of life is troubled and they do as they please from childhood on. When you're on the edges of living, I guess you will see such carrying on.

The "sorry" group has a vicious system of gossip very similar to that in the "get by" group, with the exception that it is probably more vicious and more open. They also love to speculate about sexual misbehavior or family disputes and to show their contempt for the person or family they happen to be angry with. It is rarely pleasant gossip. Again, an observer wonders about the extent to which this system of gossip represents psychological projections and displacements of their own fears and anxieties.

In this group, the men also get into fist fights occasionally when they are drunk. Open hostility and aggression are most likely to occur in this group, as though agression were always close to the surface. Alcohol gives this aggression permission to be expressed.

> If they get drunk, anything can happen. They will lose control. You heard what happened the other evening. Some of them boys got a bottle, got drunk, and started fighting with each other. It was a mess.

Step 3. **Handling and Attempts to Realize Existing Values.** In the "better" class, there was an attempt to solve some of the problems of a changing family structure by utilizing the existing value system. As Steps 4 through 7 show, "better class" patterns indicated new role definitions, in an attempt to solve the problem through structural changes. But at this point, the problem is how they utilized the existing values of pre-urban times. A tradition of strong family solidarity existing prior to the changes between 1910 and 1950 was used, in part, to cope with some of the changes. For example, they used kin connections to find wage jobs, continued patterns of mutual help, and visiting—even though no longer related to the exchanges of an agricultural system of cooperation. They frequently utilized their valued goal of education to learn new skills and outlooks which would permit them to participate in a changing social world. Furthermore, if a member of the family left for a wage job elsewhere, he know he could count on a place back home if things did not go well in Detroit, Norfolk, Asheville, or in any other urban center. A system of interpersonal support continued.

Additional ways of dealing with family problems have arisen, as detailed in Steps 4 through 7. As an informant put it:

> We were able to make it. Take our family. We still help each other, if it is necessary. We still visit. Look at my father. His family sent him off to school, and he came back to set up a business, not to farm. My uncles who have left here still know that the home place still exists. Look at (S) family, one went off to a wage job in South Carolina. Within a month he had a dozen of his kin down with him. Look at the mica house. One gets a job and brings in his brothers and sisters. They still will help out.

We find a different picture in the "get by" group. They have not utilized the pre-existing values to deal with the problem in the same way as the "better" people. To be sure, some exchange of cooperation and aid during crisis times exists as a continuation from the past. But we do not find them using their kinship group as a vehicle for seeking new occupational and educational roles, for example. It is more accurate to look at this group as existing in more of a state of uncertainty of expectations. This has both a past and present dimension. As for the past, they seem unclear as to what to utilize as resources to solve their family problems of solidarity. They do not seem to be clear as to what past values are relevant today. For example, they will talk about the past and express wonder over how it applies to the present. As for the present, there is a general sense of "What to do?" For example, in one family highly illustrative of the general problem, the mother, a widow in her early fifties, is alone. The children seem quite uncertain as to what their responsibilities to her are all about, and so there is a good deal of ill feeling among siblings and between mother and children. In contrast this would not be likely to happen in the "better" families. An informant said of the "get bys":

> They are the people who are in between. They have not made out as well as the better folks. They haven't stuck together like they did either. It is hard to describe. They are folks who are struggling with what is right for a man and woman or a family to do. We all are, I guess, but this is most true of them.

In the "sorry" group, we find a pattern quite different from the preceding two groups. A social atomism has long characterized the "sorry" family in which each adult male member of the family seems to do as he pleases. Patterns of mutual aid in times of crisis exist, but are not as frequent or as predictable as in the other two groups. For example, a son who decided to leave home and take a forestry job in New Hampshire did not tell anyone! He merely left. The family heard later and was not distressed. In another such family, the head of the household offered his brothers and sisters help with his invalid mother. He would keep her at the family homeplace with his family. After about a week, he and his wife neglected her to such an extent that she had to return to a daughter in a near city who earnestly wanted to take care of her. The grandmother later discovered that her grandchildren had been stealing items of clothing and small pieces of furniture which had been stored in a shed near the house of her son. In another such family, two drunken sons kicked their father out of the house in the dead of winter. Thus, we see a group in which dependable patterns of support and affection seem minimal. It has always been somewhat like this, only it's more so now with further weakening of family bonds.

> We still see them living almost like pigs They were sorry, they've always been the sorriest. Look at Sam — getting bastardy fees; look at how the (C) family treat their father; look at the fights in the (J) family. I think it's worse than before. They don't want to be bothered. They think they are being a man if they stick their chests out. They think that if they don't want to work, no one is going to make them. They are more than independent. They just don't care.

Step 4. **Encouragement of New Definitions, or New Ideas, Without Responsibility for Implementation.** In the "better" group, there was considerable encouragement of new definitions to deal with the many changes taking place in the 1930's and 1940's. As for the goals, the idea that each family would go its separate way was tolerated. Apparently a norm stipulated a continuing obligation to help and participate with one's large group of kinfolks. A sense of continuity with the past was also encouraged. Many apparently began to see increased education as a means of solving new aspirations, for being "modern." To seek alternate occupations was encouraged. The old authority of the father in the family was thrown into question as the occupational division of labor changed. They no longer had to live near or with their family. Crucial to these new ideas about family values and goals was an apparently strong motivation to seek new solutions.

> These people were willing to work and were willing to change, if they had to. They wouldn't let the world pass them by. They would tolerate new ideas, if they had to. It took time, though. By the 1940's they were eager to escape a sense of being backward and tied down. They wanted to better themselves. That is the secret of it, I think.

In the "get by" class, a search for solutions to changing family structure offers us quite a contrasting picture. There was no evidence that this group was characterized by a search for new solutions, new definitions, and new roles, as with the "better" group. That each family could consider itself as a more independent unit was certainly an acceptable idea, as was a changing division of labor. Yet, we found no evidence that this group used education or family supports as a means of adapting to a changing occupational system. A committed search for new ideas, new roles for new ways of doing things, was not characteristic. They went along with changes forced upon them, not with a motivation to better themselves.

> . . . They moved when the storm was in the house, not before. They are not the kind of people who think about different things. They'd prefer to go along with what they are familiar with. They are not book people. . . .

In the "sorry" group, we have another picture of coping with new problems and definitions. There is no evidence that any significant definitions have arisen about how to change a set way of life in the presence of many community changes. This group seems to be the least affected by the changes that have taken place. A strong motivation to improve their material lot in acceptable ways is not characteristic. A member of this group told the author:

> We can't seem to get out of our old ways. I don't know why. I would like to do better than being a lay-around, a drunk, and a fighter. I don't want to be seen as scum. I don't want to be a loafer. If I can get through school, I might be able to better myself. My parents don't care whether I finish or not. They don't care about anything. (This was told to me by a thirteen-year-old boy

from the "sorry" class. He reflects the **pattern** of the parents' indifference.)

Step 5. **Positive Attempts at Specification.** By the late 1940's, the "better" group had progressed further in a positive definition of new norms for family solidarity. First, the acceptance of the nuclear family as having priority over extended family obligations continued. This was expressed, for example, in support in time of crisis, illness, or mutual aid at canning time, sharing a garden, or fairly frequent visiting. Instead of helping each other with the planting or harvesting, they helped each other get jobs or helped in interpersonal ways. This was made a positive good, a norm or an obligation. To get the best and greatest possible amount of education was also specified as a role obligation for the young. To better yourself was also a new norm, a general role obligation. Although many of these norms are relatively new in their applications to new roles, they were in many ways not so new. This group has largely continued the norm of mutual aid, but in a different context. For example, the "better" class tried to be self-sufficient as a family in the past and used education to give some of the same valued independence. In short, it seems that solidarity norms have changed materially but the motivations have not.

The "get by" and "sorry" groups have not progressed beyond Step 4. In contrast, the "better" groups moved on to either new or modified definitions which seem more in keeping with present circumstances.

Steps 6 and 7. **Implementation and Routinization.** As indicated in Chapter III, steps 4 through 7 are not often easily distinguishable. In the "better" group, the new norms described in Steps 4 and 5 have been implemented into patterns of behavior. The new or modified norms have become accepted parts of a changed institution. For example, if a son did not help his brother get a job, when the family knew he could, the erring brother would feel the disapproval of his kinfolks. People would be surprised if a young couple sacrificed their lives for larger familial obligations, such as staying in Blue Ridge, if there was greater opportunity elsewhere. Not to want to improve and better yourself and your family would meet with strong disapproval from your family. The new "better" family is oriented to achievement and respectability. An acceptance of change is itself a new norm.

An informant describes their changed pattern of family solidarity:

> They have always stuck together. They were the first to move to new and better job opportunities. They encouraged more education. These things were new; they grew to prefer them. They wanted to better themselves. Take my family. When they built a high school in 1932, my mother was one of the very few around here to finish. She still lives near her mother and her two brothers, even though they don't farm. Instead of exchanging labor in the fields, now they will help with job information or connections. Look at my uncle. His brother got him his job on construction. . . .

B. The Changing Role of the Aged

Step 1. **System Defined Dissatisfaction (or Crisis).** "We have been put on the shelf" is a typical way in which the elderly of the community see their new situation. We must ask what threats this statement reveals about changed role. Generally, the summarizing statement "We have been put on the shelf" reflects a new role for the aged in which there is a loss of prestige and a decline in child-parent reciprocities concerning the care of the aged. As for the loss of prestige, the role of the aged is no longer one which is as respected as it was in the traditional culture. Youth carries far more esteem. To be old means that one cannot continue to participate in the occupational system. In earlier times, one did not need to retire, one continued to farm, with the aid of sons and brothers if necessary. Thus, the old are indeed "put on the shelf," as they put it. Furthermore, it seems that this problem exists in all three classes.

Besides a decline in prestige of the role of the aged, there has been a threat to parent-children reciprocities about care of the aged. In the traditional culture, the youngest child was expected to remain with and look after the parents in their older years. For this, the youngest was to receive the home place as a reward. This was apparently true in all classes, although the "better" and "get bys" had more resources to pass on to the youngest child.

Today, in contrast, parents usually live alone and some of the older couples no longer have children around, though a few generally remain; for most, there does not seem to be an agreed upon set of obligations of the children to their parents. This problem exists in all classes, although the "better" class has used its patterns of solidarity to help out its aged parents. But in these cases the uncertainty of role responsibilities to the elderly was striking. They felt the obligations, but were not sure what they were to be. One type of financial solution in all groups was Social Security and old age assistance programs.

Seen in the context of a changed family system, this problem is understandable. In the context of changing values concerning familial organization and obligations, the problem is even more clearly a function of role changes in the family system of the community. "What to do" about the old folks is the problem that changes have generated:

> It used not to be a problem here. Now it is. I have it in my family with my father. It used to be expected that the youngest child was responsible for staying on the home place and looking after the old couple. Besides, the other children were scattered around the home place anyhow. It was the responsibility of the youngest. For that the youngest got the home place when the old people died. Now it's different. People do not farm very much. There are only a few people who really live by farming. The children have scattered all over. So now it's a problem. I think most every family here faces it. What to do and who is to do what is the problem. We never had the problem of retirement either. My father doesn't want to quit keeping the home place up and even mowing his own hay. He is 84, you know.

——+——

> Yes, it has changed a whole lot. It used to be that the youngest stayed to look after the old folks. For that, they got the home place. This was typical throughout the community. In those days, old folks were respected. They were looked up to. You were supposed to go to the oldest for advice. They had a place. Now that is all different. Now, who is to take responsibility isn't clear. They grew up expecting to be taken care of. That was what they knew. Now that is not true. Families are scattered all over. Now they retire. Take Mr. (L). While he was working, he was fine and in good health. Ever since he retired, he has gone down hill. Now you only ask them for advice to be nice. The "old fogey" notion is new up here. You see, in the past the old folks controlled the land. Now they don't have a hold like they did either.

Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance.** Several symptoms of this problem were in evidence. For the older folks there was conflict over being excluded from the social world of children who live quite different lives than the "old" did in their youth. This is most likely put as a fear of being a "bother." Next, there is the role uncertainty over having to retire. They did not seem to know what to do with themselves. At the time of this study, for example, there were two men in their late sixties who became depressed after enforced retirement. For some time this was serious enough to be a problem for themselves and their families. Among the children, in contrast, the symptom most often observed is the problem generated over what their role responsibilities are to be. This was most prominent in the "better" and "get by" groups.

> Take our family. My mother, who is about 70, got sick. They—my sisters and brother-in-law—thought I should give up my job and take care of her. I have to work. They live even closer than I do. I am the youngest, but they have responsibilities, too. We were awfully angry at each other over this. We all have responsibilities, but no one seemed willing to share them and define them in a fair way. All this is not over yet between us. It is now quite a problem. I am sure others have told you about this. My folks seem to feel left out, even though we try not to let them feel that way. It's hard. (The informant is a woman in her late forties, from the "better class.)

C. The Problem of Changing Sex Roles

Step 1. **System Defined Dissatisfaction.** A relatively new problem is phrased locally as "Who wears the britches?" New in the sense that it arose in the late 1940's and during the 1950's, this is largely a "better" class family problem. At the time of the research, the wife had a public job in eleven out of thirteen "better" group homes. Only six of thirty-six "get by" wives were employed; none of the women in the "sorry" group had factory or office work. Consequently, we will discuss this problem of "who wears the britches" in terms of the "better" group.

"Who wears the britches" is a quite revealing location definition of a new threat to the family group. At least two role threats are involved: The "britches" problem has to do with the authority relationship between husband and wife. Traditionally, the husband was the authority, with the wife occupying a subordinate position. For example, women in the "better" group would not usually sign a petition of any sort; this was a man's decision. The man in the traditional culture liked to think of himself as "ruling the roost," as the Blue Ridge people call it. But now the women increasingly feel that if they "help bring in the bacon, they want a say in how it is cut up," to use local phrasing. An elderly man in his seventies saw the problem this way:

> It used to be that the man was the boss of the home. It ain't like that now. It seems that the women are trying to take over. . . .

* * *

> I had to take a job. We wanted to fix up the house. My husband's jobs are not always dependable. With the new mill opening, I got a job. It was easier for a woman to get a job in the new thread mill. Well, this meant I had to work at two jobs, at the plant and at home. I often earned more than my husband, which didn't matter. Anyhow, the pressures got too great. Two jobs and little help from my husband. He wanted me still to do everything. I was not going to be pushed. I earn, I can have my say. It is coming to me. He will have to get used to it. (This thirty-eight-year-old woman was an acute observer of her community and her own situation. She felt that her troubles with feeling tired all the time were due to the extra job, her husband's unwillingness to help out with domestic chores, and the conflict over equality in the husband-wife relationship.)

This brings out another important dissatisfaction in "who wears the britches," that is, the threats or conflicts arising over the role of husband and wife in the changing family system. With the change in woman's economic role, the question has arisen, particularly for women, as to what are the proper and acceptable roles for both males and females. A problem of working out a new complementarity of expectation seems to be involved. For instance, in the traditional culture, there was a crystallized definition of both a man's and a woman's role within the family. When the woman went into the occupational system, her role within the family changed to that of the working wife, so the clear distinction between male and female tasks is no longer acceptable. With roles to perform in both the factory and in the household, the women feel dissatisfied. They have two jobs to do and wish some reorganization of expectations. The men still seem to hold to a more traditional view of their familial roles. For example, few men in this group would appreciate knowing that others are joking about their wives "putting aprons on them." This is more than a joke in a culture in which a man who milks a cow is still considered a "sissy."

These two dissatisfactions have an important value dimension. The values which define male and female roles are in question. The traditional view of these roles within a family is in conflict with the women's attempt to create a "modern," more equalitarian, basis for husband-wife interaction. Modern and traditional values about authority are in conflict. What is man's work and what is woman's work is also in question. For example, "breadwinning" is a man's job, but women can take male roles and can earn as much as a man. All of this has been complicated by the success values of the "better" families who aspire to material and social improvement. Achieving this success often requires the added income from the wife's work. Consequently, the success values have contributed to the clashes over husband-wife roles.

The social context of the role threats and value dilemmas is an important consideration. The changing structure of the family, for instance, has already been discussed. With a changing extended family system, it is not surprising to encounter threats of a changing role complementarity in nuclear families. Certain changes within the community which bear on the problem of "who wears the britches" need further elaboration. First, the development of factory work did not begin until after World War II, especially in the late 1940's and early 1950's. Second, a very significant number of the new work roles, as in the overall factory or the thread mills demanded women. Consequently, not only were there opportunities for women to secure employment, but it was often easier for a woman to get a job than it was for a man. In the threadmill, for example, about 60 percent of the employees were women, in the mica house, about 80 percent, and in the overall factory, most of the jobs were female. Thus, job availability alone encouraged women into the work force. For these two reasons, plus the success values of the group, women took jobs in the factory. While bringing women into the new economic system, this role change also brought in a new problem.

Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance.** On the basis of available evidence, the major symptom of disturbance over "who wears the britches" appears in open role conflicts over the husband-wife role. For example, the husband's lack of understanding of the wife's role problem of coordinating a job in a factory with a traditional and unacceptable subordinate family role creates conflict. There was some evidence that many of these women often suffer fatigue symptoms from carrying too many responsibilities. That they feel overburdened was frequently expressed:

> I just work until I am ready to collapse. There is no end to it. The garden, the canning, the job. I am give out. . . . Look at what we have to do around here. We do most of the work. Look at the women who work on the public jobs and come home to a full day's work. Those lazy men should know better. I work all the time. It is no wonder I am so tired all the time. . . .

Step 3. **Handling with Attempts at Realizing Existing Values.** The men seem to handle the dissatisfactions implied in "who wears the britches" by adhering to their traditional role in the family—that of the "boss" who, although usually aware of the problem, still expects the wife to perform the traditional feminine roles within the household. This is quite a contrast to the men's usual willingness to adapt to changes in the community. When it comes to any threat to the men's masculinity or self-confidence as breadwinners, they are more traditional and less willing to experiment. The women, on the other hand, wish to change traditional values and modify their role. The traditional and present patterns of family solidarity in "better" class families probably act to relieve some of the female and male problems over this conflict; these supports at least provide an interpersonal cushion within which difficulties may seem less pressing. But in this observer's view, the women in this group will not be satisfied to continue with this problem:

> It is a big problem for us women folk. I work all day in the mill. I come home to my domestic shores. My husband treats me as though I didn't have a job. There are many like me. . . . The men want to rule.

> You know what they say around here: If you help bring in the bacon, you help cut it up. (This informant was in her late thirties.)

Step 4. **New Definitions.** The men in this group have not yet developed new social definitions, although the women have developed ideas about a more equalitarian relationship in which the men help out with domestic tasks. The women are motivated to search for new ideas, but there was no evidence of an exchange between husbands and wives over the conflict of "who wears the britches." Thus women are in a situation denying them the necessary dialogue to move on to attempts at a new role complementarity.

Summary

Under the impact of urban influences, the family is indeed no longer the same. In all social classes, the winds of change have been felt with increasing force since World War II. When these changes are seen in terms of specific problems, such as that of maintaining family solidarity, the role of the aged, or husband-wife role complementarity, we find quite different adaptations by social class. As for family solidarity, the "better" class seems to have preserved much of the past patterns of solidarity while adapting to the present. With an emphasis on the nuclear family, which is more compatible with the industrial system, they nevertheless continue to use kinship as a problem solving system and as an interpersonal support.

In contrast, the "get bys" who experience a relative decline in the importance of kinship as a personal community for support, were the most uncertain as to how to cope with family changes. In a sense, the "get bys" are the most anomic of the three groups. In the "sorry" group, old patterns of family atomism continue, although informants say they are more atomistic today than in pre-industrial times. They do not usually depend on kinship as a supportive interpersonal system, but the norms for this exist, at least as a norm of nonsupport. Thus, it seems that the "get bys" are the most disorganized by change. The "better" group was the best able to make changes and seek either new or modified role systems that were congruent with the surrounding society.

As for the problem of the aged, which emerged with clarity in the 1940's and 1950's, dissatisfactions over being "put on the shelf" reflect the problems of prestige loss, retirement, and the place of the aged in a changed family system. At the time of the research, little seemed to have been done to solve this problem structurally, although Social Security and aid to the aged provided some solution in a material sense. A structural picture of normative uncertainty characterized the "what are we to do about it?" situation in unresolved terms. A similar picture of unresolved dissatisfaction with the changed role of man and women existed among the "better" group as women took wage jobs. A new role complementarity as to role authority and the role contents of the male-female role will have to be worked out in order to solve this problem. Thus the role of the aged and the role of men and women are areas of important crises.

The following summarizes the content of the chapter in more graphic terms:

Problem of solidarity	**"Better" Class**	**"Get By" Class**	**"Sorry" Class**
Step 1. **Dissatisfactions:**	"It's not like it used to be, but we are still close."	"We aren't close any more."	"We aren't close You can't depend on kin."
Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance**	Some conflict over leaving homeplace for work elsewhere.	Vicious gossip about family loyalties and responsibilities; family "fussing".	Open conflict and fights; vicious gossip.
Step 3. **Handling and Attempts To Realize Existing Values:**	Used tradition of strong family solidarity for support and job seeking.	Less utilization of familial supports; some uncertainty over solidarity norms.	Social atomism — each goes his own way—past and present.
Step 4. **Encouragement of New Ideas or Definitions:**	Search for new ideas; early idea of nuclear family focus.	Little evidence of search for new definitions.	No evidence of encouragement of new norms or search for suitable changes.
Step 5. **Positive Attempts at Specification:**	Norm of nuclear family orientation specified; cooperation in jobs instead of with crops, as in in the past.	No evidence of this much change.	No evidence of this much change beyond previous system.
Steps 6 and 7. **Implementation and Routinization:**	Norms: continuing family support, nuclear family emphasis in contrast to extended family, change permissible, and achievement.	No evidence.	No evidence.

Problems of solidarity	"Better" Class	"Get By" Class	"Sorry" Class
Changing Role of the Aged			
Step 1. **Dissatisfactions:**	"We have been put on the shelf." The problems of loss of prestige and familiar responsibility for the aged parents, and retirement appeared to be common to all groups. Although evidence was scanty, the severity of these problems would probably be related to class.		
Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance:**	The conflict of the old over being excluded from the social world of their children, the fear of the aged of being a bother, and the conflict among the children as to their own role responsibilities were the most evident symptoms in all three groups.		
Step 3. Handling and Attempts to Realize Existing Values	Early mechanism of the youngest child being responsible for the aged parents, in return for the home place is no longer an operative norm. Great role uncertainty over appropriate role for the children and their responsibilities to their parents.		
Problem of Changing Sex Roles			
Step 1. **Dissatisfactions:**	"Who wears the britches"	Occasional "britches" problem	"Keep women quiet"
Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance:**	Open conflicts between husband and wife	Some conflicts	Women submissive
Step 3. **Handling and Attempts to Realize Existing Values:**	Males remain in traditional role; women seeking more equalitarian role and fewer role demands.	"Male dominance" norm in both groups	
Step 4. **Encouragement of New and Definitions Ideas:**	Women have new ideas not yet shared by husbands about reduced role demands and more equalitarian role relationship; new complementarity not yet in process of being worked out. Problem is relatively new.	"Male dominance" norm in both groups	

CHAPTER 7

"JOBS ARE A PROBLEM HERE"

As the result of community changes, especially in the technological order and in the economy, there has been a change in the division of labor within the occupational structure.[1] "Jobs are a problem here" is a cultural definition of one of the crises created by these changes—the dissatisfactions which have arisen over securing stable employment, the crisis point of a community and occupational structure in transition. How the different classes cope with different aspects of this general problem and how they arrive at different solutions to this problem will be examined next.

The Crisis Problem:[2] "Jobs are a problem here."

The general meaning of this dissatisfaction, its relation to the context of earlier times, and the changes which brought this problem into strong focus, require elaboration before an examination of the specific involvements of each class as they attempt to solve the question of a livelihood. The meaning of the problem will be examined first. In general terms, this problem can be illuminated through the eyes of those involved in the threats to their livelihood:

> I am a skilled carpenter. I can get work. But sometimes I am laid off or work gets slack. That is no fun, when you have five kids to feed. If I can't get a job in carpentering, I try to find something else. It's no pleasure knowing work is scarce. A man has to live; he has to support his family.
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> −−+−−
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> I've been out of work for almost a week. The mica job has been slow all year. I almost starved last winter. The weather has been real bad.

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[1] Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (January 1947), p. 298; Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and its Transformations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957, pp. 6-7; Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 15-30; Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*. Reprinted (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 256-284.

[2] As throughout this monograph, we are reporting *modal patterns*.

> I ain't had a job for six months. My wife has been picking galax leaves to keep things going. You know jobs on public works are scarce. Now they want a man with book learning.

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> I am not doing anything here. I think I'll go into the service this fall. There is nothing to do here.

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> That's the trouble here. Young people can't find decent jobs. Lots of folks have trouble with work here. That's the trouble here. That's why a lot leave too.

These quotes, selected from people in all classes, show in part how a crucial dissatisfaction for many—the problem of securing and keeping a job—is defined within the community.

Before looking at the mechanisms which created these changes and the subsequent problems, we will examine the early work values and roles which have been greatly modified over the last thirty to forty years. It is this modification that helped produce job instability, so that knowing early values and roles and their social context is most important to an understanding of the problem.

Regardless of class, a major value in pre-urban times was phrased as: "You made your own." Regardless of differences in wealth, self-sufficiency was a most important value. A man could normally grow enough food to eat, he could fish and hunt to supplement his larder, and sheep provided wool for clothing. Timber was easily available for housing and furniture, either of which the man of the house could usually build for himself. While some cash was necessary for taxes, salt, sugar, and coffee, this was essentially a community of self-sufficient families. Most important, it was a community in which self-sufficiency was highly valued, where making one's own way was highly prized.

Some, of course, were more successful at this than others, but for present purposes, we only need look at the general value of self-sufficiency or independence that was greatly affected by a changing community and occupational system:

> You must understand that most of the people who settled this area wanted to be their own bosses. They wanted their own land. They wanted to make their own way. Some did better than others—you always find that. Here a man was someone who could win a living

> from the soil and forests. Even the sorriest could live.
> He could hunt and fish, if nothing else.

Because the value involved is important, it is likewise important to examine the role structure of work prior to changes in the community, and the subsequent dissatisfactions over work. The division of labor prior to the period of urban influences was quite simple. There were large land holders and farmers, moderately sized land holders and farmers, and small land holders or renters and farmers. To be sure, there were a few preachers, school teachers, and merchants, but they were normally farmers as well. A few men mined mica, but this was also a part-time occupation. Farming was the master occupational role; there was little choice. The fact that most men had to be jacks-of-all-trades further illustrates the lack of occupational specialization. Each man simply had to be proficient at woodcrafts and carpentry, for example.

The foregoing provides at least a minimal view of the early occupational value and role system. This view is important to understanding the dissatisfactions reflected in the definition of "jobs are a problem here."

What occurred to change the system and contribute to the crisis over jobs and job stability? The first major source of change was the building of a railroad to nearby Pine City in 1905-07. With the coming of the railroad, it became profitable to cut and sell the timber of the area after 1907.

The cutting of timber had several early important impacts. It drew men from the farms to wage work, either for part- or full-time employment. Second, the timber was cut without regard to conservation, so much of the best land was eroded. Finally, as forests dwindled, timbering became an unstable occupation that seldom offered full-time employment.

About 1910, a businessman from Philadelphia offered to purchase galax leaves from people in the Blue Ridge area. While many accepted this opportunity to earn some income at a time when money was scarce, the picking of galax was seasonal, so it became another uncertain source of work and income.

At about the same time, mica mining began. By World War I, mica was a very important source of work, since it was necessary for several industrial uses. Again, some men took this up as an occupation, either leaving the farm, or working it only part time. Mica mining also had the effect of further eroding the soil and ruining streams. After World War I, mica mining became very uncertain due to great market fluctuations. Consequently a man was never sure of his job in this work sphere either.

Several important additional sources of change occurred in the 1920's. First, a hard-surface road was built from the community to nearby towns, making travel much easier. Cars, although few in number, opened many new contacts with sources of alternate opportunities. With mounting population pressures, many young men needed jobs other than on farms made too small by generations of dividing the land among heirs. During this time, the development of industry in the piedmont offered nearby jobs in textiles and furniture. Although many left home and settled in the nearby towns, they, as a rule, continued their contacts with their families back in Blue Ridge. The new jobs offered an alternative for a community once characterized by a lack of occupational choices.

In the 1930's, two events were important to the occupational life of the community. First, the depression was experienced rather widely. With few stable jobs and an impoverished agriculture, most people were living in a relatively difficult time. Above all, the depression demonstrated how interdependent they had become with the larger economy, and added further to a history of occupational instability in a community which previous to wage work had known a more stable occupational world. Second, the Parkway built through the area during the 1930's provided jobs for local men. But again, this work was shortlived, terminating by the late 1930's.

After World War II, several factories located nearby. One, a large rug factory, hired over 450 workers, only to close after a few years because of such labor troubles as a great deal of absenteeism. In the late 1940's a thread mill located nearby; feldspar processing expanded in a nearby town, and mica mining expanded production for government stockpiling. An overall factory opened in the early 1950's.

While the occupational system expanded greatly during the late 1940's and 1950's, textile work was not completely stable, mica mining was uncertain as to output, and all of the new industries as well as the old were subject to some degree of fluctuation of activity. All the while, population increases meant more people than jobs. Furthermore, what new jobs there were usually required a high school or near high school education, which meant that many could not participate due to a lack of training. As a result, it is not surprising to hear a great deal of threat expressed over "jobs are a problem here." But the more precise and class-based variations of meaning that this problem has will now follow. We will examine how each group faced different facets of this problem and how each has come to solve the problem of securing a livelihood.

The Steps of Structural Differentiation—Steps 1-7.

Step 1. **System Defined Dissatisfactions.** The threats to job security vary by classes within Blue Ridge. Among the "better" group, the problem is usually phrased as: "Jobs are a big problem here, but we can make it." Although faced with the threat of job loss or underemployment due to market fluctuations, they have the most stable jobs in the community. For example, although the thread mill often lays people off, mica house jobs fluctuate, and carpentering is often unsteady, these are still much more stable jobs than, say, timbering, or lower skilled occupations. Because most of these men are jacks-of-all-trades, they are able to secure other jobs if necessary. If the mill job folds, they can get jobs as mechanics, carpenters, or brick layers. With many skills and known as reliable hard workers, they are desired as employees. Furthermore, they feel self-reliant. They will actively seek either a steady job or they are able to find an alternate one. For example, after one mill closed, many of its "better" men went to South Carolina for construction jobs until work became available for them back home. Thus, though they are aware of and often beset by threats to jobs, they are nevertheless able to secure alternative employments:

> We will make our own way. If I can't get a job carpentering, I am a good stone mason. When I lost my job in the mill, I went down to South Carolina and came back on the weekends. I had a job a year ago in Marion working in a machine shop. The foreman got to watching me close, so I quit. I got a job then as a forester. I can always get work. If worse comes to worst, I can pick galax leaves and live. I don't like moving around, but I'll make out.

Among the "get by" group there is a quite different view of the job threat. The "get bys" usually see the threats to jobs as: "It's tough to keep a job." They face a great number of lay-offs from work in mica, timbering and unskilled construction jobs. If they work in mica or timbering, either the weather or market fluctuations keep them unsure of working. The few small farmers in the group also face uncertainty with their one cash crop, tobacco. Thus, their occupational lives are indeed characterized by a tough kind of uncertainty—one's livelihood. And as will be developed in the following steps, in comparison with the "better" class, they do not view their problem with a sense of solution.

> We left the farm for an uncertain loaf of bread. Look at those hills. My father let his farm grow over to take a wage job. Look at what has happened. We have wage jobs which we can't be sure of. I didn't work last week because of rain. Last winter the mica jig was closed when the government cut its order. It was hard to live. My wife had canned a lot, so we ate okay. What were we to do?

In the "sorry" group, we find yet another variation on the job problem. "You work when you can." This statement has several meanings. First, they work as the most unskilled of the mica or timber workers, or they pick galax leaves, or they take odd jobs. All of these jobs are uncertain, and there are usually more people than vacancies, according to informants. Second, they also mean that they work when they want to. If they do not feel motivated to work, they will not appear for the job. And third, they are usually blocked from the more skilled jobs by their very low level of education. Consequently, they work when they can in a job situation almost always filled with the threat of unemployment or under-employment. Their own dilemmas over motivations to work are likewise involved, as will be discussed in Step 3.

The value and role background of these dissatisfactions can be emphasized in terms of a people who could make their own livelihood prior to World War I. In all classes, they preferred a way of life in which the rich or poor could be occupationally independent. In the work structure that developed with urbanization, a history of job instability has characterized the community, although in varying ways for each group.

Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance.** The symptoms related to the foregoing systemic dissatisfactions vary by class, as we would expect, since each class faces different problems in earning a livelihood. As for the "better" class, there was no evidence that any symptoms of disturbance existed over the problem of keeping and/or securing a job. In terms of their relatively stable jobs and their ability to secure alternate employment, this is not surprising. We found no evidence of symptoms, although we would guess that latent disturbances might exist if the work situation altered significantly. As an informant put it:

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"We can always get along. If we have another depression, the hard working people could still make out on their few acres."

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In the "get by" group, there existed a very well-defined symptom of their problem with unstable employment or under-employment. These people are known to themselves and to others as "job scared," meaning that they are afraid of losing their jobs. They live in terror of job loss, or temporary unemployment, or under-employment. "Job scared" also refers to a fear of not being confident in one's work role. In reaction to this threat, they are often over-compliers. The following quotations about "job scared" men convey further the meaning of the symptom:

> It is the fear of losing a job. I'll tell you, it's a guy who thinks he has a job over his head, too. They realize it. They then try very hard to make a good impression. . . .

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> Lots of people are afraid of losing their jobs. Then they are called job scared. You don't know when a boss or supervisor might come up and fire you. . . .

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> That's someone who is always afraid of losing his job. It is horrible with someone like that. He will make it hard on the others. Those people are afraid of their jobs. This has been true here for a long time. . . .

In the "sorry" group there is yet another expression of their difficulties with work. Although there are elements of extreme individualism to consider, which we will do in Step 3, a part of their response to job uncertainty or scarcity is an apathy about work which takes several forms. It is expressed in terms of indifference—they do not care—or by taking little if any initiative to seek other ways of securing a livelihood. They expressed an "I don't care" attitude. This is one possible way of adapting to situations in which goal achievement is blocked. As an informant put it:

> When you don't see a way of doing any better, you get to feeling that you don't care.

Step 3. **Handling and Attempts to Realize Existing Values.** Between 1920 and 1950 the "better" group apparently attempted to deal with their problem of securing and keeping a job by utilizing some of their existing social resources. By maintaining self-sufficiency, they protected themselves from the uncertainties of the market place. They had gardens, chickens, pigs, and timber to tide them over the rough spots. Furthermore, as jacks-of-all-trades, in numerous cases, they would move from job to job when necessary. For example, if road jobs ended, they went to work in the feldspar plant, or they migrated temporarily. In addition, they wanted to work and got help from their kin folks in securing employment, either in the local or nearby area. For example, if a man wanted to work in a new mill in the piedmont, he could usually rely on a kinsman to help him. In summary, the "better" group got along in the changing occupational system. How this was further modified during the 1940's and 1950's will be discussed in Steps 4 and 5.

Among the "get by" group, during the period of the 1920's up to the 1940's, a major mechanism for dealing with an uncertain occupational world was to continue their subsistence base, as did the "better" group. They too could take care of their necessities, but they did not have similar family solidarity to fall back upon when seeking alternate jobs. Nor did they face these problems with a similar sense that they could surmount the problem of work:

> They took things as they came. They were scared people, while the better folks were optimistic about things. (Informant was from the "better" class, about forty years old.)

The "sorry" group generally responded in a different way. The men in this group, with the most unskilled jobs and most uncertain job stability, could continue to hunt and fish. The women could garden and can food for the winter. They could continue to do as they pleased if there was no work or no will to work. Indeed, loafing and being free to do as they pleased were far more important than any attempt to seek skills for jobs in the new wage and employee systems that new industries brought to the community. This was similar to their situation prior to wage work:

> My father told me to take it easy. You know, I never did a lick of work until I was twenty. After that I've taken it easy. The less you work, the longer you live. What is the sense in working hard? I don't want much, so I don't need much. I prefer to do as I feel. They tell this story over in Mitchell. A man left there to work in Marion. He found he wasn't any better off there than he had been before back on his patch of ground. He had to work hard and didn't end up with any more; just more debts. So he came back to eat potatoes. He could grow enough to eat. He wanted to work for no one. He wanted to go hunting when he felt like it. . . .

Step 4. **Encouragement of New Ideas and Definitions.** Faced with points of role dissatisfaction, it is possible to seek new ways of doing things which would restructure the system in order to solve the problem created by change. The "better" group accepted the opportunities of a changing occupational system by enlarging their educational opportunities. Besides an emphasis on education, the "better" group accepted the idea of work other than farm labor. Emerging jobs in timbering, forestry, the mills, and mica houses were attractive opportunities to them. The goal of securing and utilizing more skills was encouraged. Above all, they wanted to cope with and participate in the changing occupational system. To be aware of new opportunities and take advantage of them became a norm of conduct. These ideas or definitions were quite current in the 1940's.

> We knew that farming was going to be a thing of the past. We couldn't make a go of that. We used our skills and got an education. It was the only way to survive here.

In the "get by" class, there was little evidence of a search for new definitions, for new ways to cope with job uncertainty or under-employment. The "get bys" took jobs outside agriculture, keeping some subsistence base as a form of security. But active coping with the problems was little in evidence. Rather, they seem to have accepted the problem of job uncertainty and adapted as already described, with a pattern of being "job scared." Until they overcome their lack of education, this observer would speculate that this problem will persist unless more stable industries with less selective manpower requirements come to the area and hire them.

There is likewise no evidence of a search for a solution to the problem of job uncertainty in the "sorry" group. As something of a leisure class, they, in part, prefer to do as they please. Their response seems to be a mixture of apathy about a situation which does not seem to have any perceivable solutions, and an old frontier sense of independence, which says they can do as they please.

Steps 5-7. **Specification and Implementation of New Definitions.** Only the "better" group has gone beyond Step 4, which described how they have attempted to cope with the changing and uncertain occuptional system brought about by industrialization in their area. The phrase "not job scared" that they use among themselves summarizes how far they have gone in adapting to this problem.

"Not job scared" has several aspects which reveal how they have attempted to develop relevant work norms. First, they seem to feel confident that they can do a job, whatever it may be, in a factory or in a construction gang. Second, it means that the men in the "better" class will find other work of some sort if a job fails or becomes too unstable. They are still self-reliant. They will search out new opportunities and make the most of the ones available. Third, they tolerate the authority structure of the employer-employee situation, if supervisors do not "boss" them. That is, this type of man wants the authorities above him to respect his autonomy, his frontier-like sense of independence. Fourth, "not job scared" means that a man will work hard and diligently. He will work hard to learn a new job, such as in the new mills. Consequently new factories find that if they can avoid making him feel "bossed," this type of man is usually an excellent employee.

The concept of "not job scared" seems to have emerged during the late 1940's and 1950's into a well defined set of norms for working in a wage economy. To be known as "not job scared" is quite socially rewarding. For example, a man is praised by being called "not job scared," just as it is an insult to call someone "job scared." Thus, a modified definition of traditional norms has been applied to a changed work situation. As this type of mountain man was self-reliant in the past, he has reinterpreted and reorganized the same into a concept of "not being job scared" to guide him in an industrializing occupational system.

> That means that man has confidence in himself, he is not job scared. He knows what he can do. He will not be pushed around. He will do you a good day's work, but don't push him. He doesn't like to be bossed. He will work for you, and he'll work hard. . . He likes to feel that he is independent. He doesn't want to be beholden to anyone. You know the old pioneer was proud to go his own way and make it. . .

Summary

"Jobs are a problem here" is a most important crisis which has arisen with the impact of social change in the community. This problem, reflecting the threat to a livelihood in a community that has shifted from subsistence agriculture to an uncertain wage economy, has more specific meanings which vary by social class. In the "better" class, the threat to jobs is acknowledged. They are better skilled and can secure work, and are "not job scared," that is, they seem to have been able to modify frontier values of work independence into an assurance about an employee status which is not "bossed." Above all, they are confident and have social means of dealing with job threats.

By contrast, in the "get by" class, "it is tough to keep a job," since they occupy work roles, such as in mica and timbering, which are notoriously unsteady. This is reflected in the patterns of being "job scared," fearful of job loss and the whim of employer authority. They seem to be caught in social uncertainty and lack structural solutions.

Finally, in the "sorry" class, men "work when they can." They work if they feel inclined; they also occupy work roles of great uncertainty, especially in timbering and sawmilling. New solutions do not seem to be a consideration; they seem to accept their job situation apathetically. Very often the women in this group keep the family economy going through gardening and picking galax leaves for sale. In a way, then, the men can afford to be of the leisure class. As a result, it seems that the middle group, the "get bys," occupy the most uncertain social position with regard to securing a livelihood.

To summarize this chapter in more graphic form:

"Jobs are a problem here"

	"Better" Class	**"Get by" Class**	**"Sorry" Class**
Step 1. **Dissatisfaction:**	"Jobs are a problem here, but we can make it."	"It's tough to keep a job."	"You work when you can."
Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance:**	No evidence of symptoms; problem exists but appears to be solved.	"Job scared"—socially shared fear of job loss.	Loafers' values; apathy; leisure class of the community.
Step 3. **Handling and Attempts to Realize Existing Values:**	Used family connections and solidarity to secure work; maintained self-sufficiency jacks-of-all-trades.	Kept some self-sufficiency patterns; "get along" values.	Loafed and used bare subsistence patterns.
Step 4. **Encouragement of New Ideas and Definitions:**	Accepted new opportunities and ideas; favored education; idea of industrial employment acceptable.	No evidence of search for new ideas for solution of job uncertainty.	No evidence of any search for or acceptance of new ideas or definitions. Preferred an extreme individualism —"do as I please."
Steps 5-7. **Specification and Implementation of Definitions:**	"Not job scared;" will find work; hard workers; will tolerate authority if not "bossed."	No evidence.	No evidence.

CHAPTER 8

"NOW A MAN NEEDS AN EDUCATION"

With an expanding technology and division of labor which required higher skill levels, formal schooling became increasingly imperative. Indeed, the need for formal education is a dominant value in urbanizing societies.[1] In general terms, the recognition of this problem is expressed in Blue Ridge as "Now a man needs an education." Although there is considerable consensus on the general problem, the different social classes have differing definitions of their specific educational problems and different solutions have emerged in the process of change.

The Crisis Problem:[2] "Now a man needs an education."

Because understanding the background of this problem is important, we will define more precisely what threats are posed as culturally defined problems. It is also important to consider how the present educational problems arose out of the processes of change, especially urban influences, which have occurred in the community since World War I, and particularly since World War II.

The meaning of the problem, in general terms, can be viewed through the perspective of local community people. The following quotations are from several informants who know the problem in terms of their experiences and who reveal much of the cultural definition of the issue as well:

> I want to finish school. If you don't, you end up a hang-out, a drifter. You can't do anything without an education today. Look at my father; he can't get a better job since he had only one year or two of schooling. . . . (This is a fifteen-year-old boy from the "sorry" group—a rare exception—who learned much of this in school from his teachers.)

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> People recognize now that education is a big thing. They may not all try to get more or encourage their

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[1] Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology* 52 (January 1947), pp. 297-306; Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1954), p. 15; Joseph Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1953), p. 293.

[2] We report *modal* patterns.

> children, but they will tell you that it's important. Back when I was young (he is 72), we didn't care much. The school was only open three months out of the year. Many couldn't get to school if they had wanted. Besides, it didn't make a big difference. We thought that if we could read and write, that was an education. What else was it for in those days? Now it is all different. Now, you need it to do almost anything.

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> Education has become a big thing here. Look at the new school they just built. You cannot get a good job anymore without a high school diploma. Those mills want a man with an education. Those without it are left behind. (The informant is a man in his late twenties. He is from the "get by" class.)

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These comments offer an introduction to how securing an education in an urbanizing community has become defined as a major role and value problem. The requirement of a good education is now seen as a necessity. The threat of not having an adequate education is also reflected in the awareness that a lack of education means restricted participation in the employment opportunities that have emerged with the great expansion in factory work since World War II. The potential or real threat of a lack of schooling is recognized in all classes, though defined and dealt with differently within the class structure.

An understanding of the problem of "now a man needs an education" will be furthered by examining how the issue arose out of the past patterns of education and the subsequent changes in the community. If we look at the period just after the turn of the century, we find differing value-attitudes about educational goals. The "better" class families seemed to encourage "schooling"; the "get bys" were largely indifferent; and the "sorry" class was quite apathetic. As a major value, however, education was not too important!

> People didn't care much about education. We didn't have the schools, and we didn't feel it was that important. A man could get along without it. If a man could farm, use an axe and plow, he could make it. The only book learning that was considered important was knowing the Bible. (This informant was a 78-year-old-man in the "better" group, who knew the past in quite expert fashion.)

In the subsistence agriculture of the time, formal schooling seemed none too pressing, schools were few in number, and many lived beyond reach of a school. In winter, it was often impossible to travel to school.

> Only a few log cabin schools served those in walking distance. I lived as a boy over the Ridge. We couldn't get out to go to school with mud for roads and the deep snows. I learned to read and write a little, but it didn't seem so important then. Things are sure different now. (This man was 75 at the time of the interview.)

The problem of "now a man needs an education" is further defined in terms of the changes that have occurred in the educational system over the last forty to fifty years. Very few went to high school before the early 1930's. Schools in Mountainville, some fifteen miles away, were not accessible; school buses did not operate at that time, so the first opportunity for a free high school did not come along until one was built in a nearby town in 1930. In 1934 only three students from the entire township graduated from high school, though informants said the number gradually expanded during the 1930's and 1940's. The only woman in this first group of three who finished high school told this story:

> We were the first from this township to go to that school. You know, a few people finished high school in the boarding schools in (B) town, but they had the money to afford it. It was really something in those days to have finished school. We were kidded about it. Families gradually began to encourage their children to finish school. They realized it was important. . . .

Many of the returning veterans of World War II apparently encouraged the value of education, returning from the war realizing the importance of education in the modern world and that participation in the modern occupational world required it. At about the same time, the arrival of several mills in the area emphasized the fact that those with an education had better chances of obtaining the better paying and more stable jobs. Also, by the early 1950's the new roads to remote areas of the township made it possible for practically all of the children to get to school in the winter. In 1951 a consolidated elementary school was built and for the first time took children from the entire township. A Parent Teachers Association was formed (largely through leadership from the "Intentional Community") to encourage the growth and utilization of the school. Throughout the social structure, parents were increasingly urged to keep their children in school. This encouragement came largely from the teachers and from the Parent Teachers Association.

In terms of the foregoing, the problem of education in Blue Ridge seems more understandable. The value placed on finishing high school increased the opportunities to go to school and finish high school, and the opportunities to go to school and finish high school expanded. Also, the realization developed that participation in an urban economy demanded more education. Indeed, it was during the 1950's that the first few local boys and girls went off to nearby colleges. Good jobs became increasingly defined as requiring a good education, even college. Consequently it is not surprising to hear the local perception of the educational problem as "now a man needs an education." A local young man, who finished one year of college, put it this way:

> More folks around here came to realize that going to school was important. Talk to the most uneducated. They will tell you that going to school is important. They know how much it means to be without it today. The attitude has changed for many. Finishing high school is now a sign of respectability. Who can get anywhere today without at least a high school education? Around here the man without an education will be more and more a drifter. . . .

The Steps of Structural Differentiation—Steps 1-7.

Step 1. **System Defined Dissatisfaction.** The defined threats to educational goals vary within the class structure of Blue Ridge. In the "better" class, the problem is usually defined as "We got as much education as we could, and our children will get more." The implications of this statement are several. First, this group is the most educated in the community, with most of its men having at least some high school. Second, the parents ordinarily encourage their children to further their education. In effect, there is no evidence of serious educational role dissatisfactions among the working age group:

> We got the best schooling we could. We make sure our children finish. Even the men who have not finished high school can get work. They are the best educated men around here, and they work hard. . . .

Even though role dissatisfaction seems absent among the "better" class adults over the problems of an education, the same is not true of the children in this group who have finished high school or who have gone on to college. Their problem is expressed in at least two ways. First, there is the dissatisfaction expressed over "what am I going to be?" For the boys in particular, there is the stated problem of career choice: What to become?—especially in those cases where the prospect of becoming a mill worker or store clerk is not an acceptable occupational goal. They want a better career, but do not seem able to assess clear goals or alternatives. In contrast, their fathers knew their choices of careers were few. Today, however, the high school graduate evidences a good deal of dissatisfaction over the prospects of a career:

> I have finished high school. I don't want to do just anything. I want to be able to advance and learn. I don't want to be a mill worker. I want something better. But I just don't know what to become. In school, I learned of many different kinds of careers. They had Career Day last year. I can't decide what I want to follow. It is very hard. I don't want to be stuck here either.

A second type of role crisis among this group was the related question of "What can I do around here?" For the high school graduate, the choices of jobs were seen as limited. Some seemed to feel that they had more education than many jobs required. Others felt that their occupational choices were too narrow in the local area. As a result, we find a picture of expanded occupational horizons which do not seem realizable in the present market. As one young man put it:

> I guess I'll have to leave here. There just isn't enough to do. My choices are really few. I can maybe get a job in the mill. School teaching requires a college education. There are too many stores already. I'd like to stay, but what will I end up doing? That is what worries a lot of young men around here. . . .

Among "get by" men already in the labor market, the problem of education is generally phrased as: "We don't have enough education; what else can we do?" As a rule, these men do not have a high school education. At best, they finished elementary school, so they are usually blocked from the newer jobs in the thread mills, or from any of the more skilled jobs. They seem to realize that their educational lack limits their occupational choice, though many will still tell others that securing a good education is important. As an informant in this group phrased it:

> I know they won't take me over at the mills, if I wanted a change. Mica mining has been my job for some time. I guess I'll have to stick with it. . . .

As already discussed, among high school age children in this group, the "what to do?" problem exists as a point of dissatisfaction. The other crisis is the problem of "should I finish high school?" As a rule, they are encouraged to finish by their teachers, but do not usually have this kind of support from parents, which results in a conflict situation for these teenagers.

> I know that if I don't finish, it will be harder to get a decent job. My parents don't see the benefits. They say, We got along without an education. You can too. . . .

In the "sorry" group, the problem of education is generally phrased as: "I don't have an education. I don't care." indicates several aspects of the problem. First, they are the least educated group in the community, having, as a rule, less than an elementary school education. Second, the families usually do not care. Third, the observer comes to realize over time that there is a further aspect to this—they see the lack of an education as a block to any improvement in their standard of living or a better job. This is accepted as a fact of life.

> I never had schooling. They say it's important. What good does it do you? We can get along. . . .

As for the children, there was no evidence of any special dissatisfaction. In this group they usually drop out by the time they are fourteen, educational mobility is a rare exception, and they are not strongly encouraged by their parents. Also, these children come to school poorly dressed and poorly groomed, and so are often objects of teasing by their classmates. This was particularly true after the new elementary school was built in 1951.

The value criteria behind these role and value dissatisfactions must be stated. In the pre-urban period, there was little emphasis on the value of a formal education. But even then, the "better" group was the most committed to seeking an education. In subsequent years, especially with the urban influences since World War II, the general importance of education has increased. The "better" group became highly committed to securing an education, the "get by" group is now moderately interested, the "sorry" group remains little interested. The different groups' value involvements in education correspond to their participation in the urbanizing economy. For example, the "better" group is the most urbanized; and likewise the most interested in securing educations commensurate with occupational goals. In a corresponding way, educational roles have varied by class. In all the foregoing, we must emphasize the context of change, or urban influences, in which education becomes increasingly important.

Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance.** The symptoms related to the foregoing disturbances vary by class. Among the "better" group, there was no evidence of serious problems with education, with the exception of the many youngsters finishing high school perplexed by "what to do?" or "what to become?" The resulting value conflict between generations is symptomatic of these problems. The parents, used to a more certain set of occupational expectations, find these problems of their children remote or not understandable. The young person in this situation, usually feeling that his parents cannot be of any assistance in resolving his dilemma, seems to conclude that this is a problem the parents do not understand. Indeed, it is a problem relatively new to this area:

> I feel as though I don't know what to do. It is very unpleasant to feel this way. I want to get help, but my parents don't understand what is troubling me about this. . . .

The symptom most expressed in the "get by" adults is largely one of a sense of unrealistic values—the indication that not having at least a high school education makes no career difference. Among the high school children in this group, some value and role conflict exists with parents over how to solve the problem of what to do or whether to finish high school or not. An informant in this group said:

> It's not an education that makes such a difference. Look, I got along, didn't I? My children think a high school education is everything. It is not so. A boy should go to work by the time he's fourteen. That's the way to learn.

The symptoms expressed in the "sorry" group are different from the foregoing. While there is the definition that an education is an unimportant aspect of their lives and aspirations among the adults, many will contradictorily acknowledge that an education is important today. The operating definition that it is unnecessary results in the value conflict between the acknowledged importance of an education and the operating value that it is not. Related to this is an "I don't care about it" apathy. When goals become conflicting or unrealizable, these types of symptomatic resonses are not surprising. The teenager in this group affected by parental indifference, is also at cross purposes with parents and teachers because the parents are somewhat indifferent while teachers encourage finishing school. As a young man in this group put it:

> I feel like I am caught in between. I know that if I don't finish school, like my father, I'll end up a loafer or odd jobs man. My father and mother don't care what I do. They'd like me to earn my own way. My teachers encourage people to finish. Mrs. (S) has talked to me about finishing. I don't know what I'll do. . . .

Step 3. **Handling and Attempts to Realize Existing Values.** Even before this study and prior to the rapid impact of urban influences after World War II, the "better" group approached the acquisition of a formal education as a desirable goal. Indeed, in this group there has been a stronger commitment historically to education than in any other group in the community. Educational attainments were limited by available facilities, but they usually made the most of whatever opportunities existed. Prior to the 1940's, securing as much education as possible was largely related to a concern with being respectable and "decent" people. Intellectual interests as a primary value were never strong, although to be learned about the Bible was highly valued:

> My parents are a good example of this type of people. They got what education they could. A few had money enough to go off to (B) to high school. They did not

> want to be illiterate and backward. They felt that an education was of some value. Look at my father; he got as much as he could and still regrets he did not finish high school. My mother did finish high school - she was the first local girl to graduate from the high school in (M). I've been off to college. They didn't go in for serious study, but they did like to learn as much as they could. Now an education has a different meaning—it's your job today. . . .

In the "get by" group, the most typical value for handling formal educational goals was expressed in terms of "it doesn't really matter." From the turn of the century, this class was largely indifferent to education. If a person went to school, that was satisfactory; if one did not go or was not very interested, that was also satisfactory. As a result, up until the present, educational attainment has not been a strong motivation. An informant from this group reveals quite general patterns:

> My father, for example, told me that if I wanted to finish school, that was okay. If not, he didn't care. We couldn't see the great value of schooling then. People have changed now. But I didn't care myself. I dropped out of school in 1938, when I got to be fourteen. I wanted to earn some money. . . .

In the "sorry" class, the value placed on education in the 1920's and 1930's was one of almost total indifference mixed with contempt. As a rule, they either did not go to school, or dropped out as soon as possible. Usually a student went when he felt like it, a pattern that has persisted to the present. A school teacher stated:

> These folks from up the coves, the sorry characters, didn't care anything about schooling. They came when they pleased and quit when they could. Laws were not enforced in those days. It was very rare for anyone from this group to even get into high school.

Steps 4-7. **New Definitions and the Implementation of New Norms.** In this case it seems desirable to compress Steps 4-7 into one section, since the development of new norms within each class was quite unclear at the time of the study. In the "better" class, the importance of securing an education is still the strongest in the community, with two differences, however. Since World War II, education has become more identified as a requirement of participating in an industrial society, and educational success has become equated with occupational success. Another difference is that there are more opportunities to maximize educational opportunities. Indeed, since the early 1950's several young people have gone to college from the "better" group. Thus, the norm of educational aspiration has remained about the same or has been strengthened, whereas the means of realizing this goal have expended with increased role opportunities for an education. As for the dissatisfactions of youth, faced with the questions of "what shall I be?" and "where will I go for a career?" there is largely a situation of uncertainty—the problems exist, but no evidence exists as to ways in which new norms are being implemented to solve the problems. The "better" young have a broadened view of more occupations to choose from, but vague standards of selection. An informant put the situation quite clearly:

> These families have always secured as much education as possible. If for no other reason, they wanted to be respectable. They want to make something of themselves. This is stronger since the war. Look at Mr. (C), he went to high school, when others couldn't. Now his son is going to college. There are more opportunities now. Look at my family - my father only finished elementary school, but my mother finished high school. Granddad had four or five years of the three month schools, but that was all they had. Look at me; I am going to college now. Now we realize a man needs it to get ahead in this world. . . .

There is a different situation in the "get by" class. They, too, still adhere to educational values and definitions, which are, with one exception, little if at all changed from pre-urban times. The adults continue with the old definitions, so Steps 4-7 really do not apply at all to this group. "It doesn't really matter" is still the most typical way in which these adults view the importance of securing a formal education. The exception, according to informants, is that youths in this group increasingly complete more grades than their parents did and more finish high school than in the past. As for the problems of youth—"what to do" or "whether to finish school?"—they showed no evidence of resolution at the time of the research.

> My family is a good example of how people think about this. My parents are still not convinced that

> finishing school is so important. They want me to earn money as soon as possible. Teachers encourage us to finish. A few listen, others are uncertain what is right. I want to finish, if I can.

Among the "sorry" class, educational norms have not progressed beyond Step 3. There was no evidence of a search for new definitions or motivations to deal with a history of educational indifference or apathy. A young man from this group offered a typical definition of this:

> I'm fourteen so I'll quit school this year. My father never learned to read or write. My mother had some schooling. I don't care. School is horrible to me. I may try to go to the service to get out of here. They don't care much about schooling.

Summary

"Now a man needs an education" is a most important crisis in the community. With urbanization, the imperatives of a formal education have become a more important goal in a more complex division of labor, yet it seems that definitions about education have not changed materially. In the "better" class, there is the definition that "we got as much as we could, and our children will get more." In the past they were motivated to seek available educational goals; now with expanded role opportunities, this group utilizes school resources somewhat more than before and more than the other two groups. Many of those of high school age are faced with new and unsolved dissatisfactions over "what am I to be?" and "what can I do around here?" These are problems related to goal aspirations that are either unclear or not realizable in the existing occupational structure. These are also generational problems: the fathers grew up in a fairly fixed or limited set of alternatives, in contrast to the many choices available to the present high school age children.

In the "get bys," the mild indifference of the past has continued into the present. "We don't have enough. What else can we do?" apparently summarizes their problem. They usually do not have the education or skills for the newer, more skilled jobs. Besides, they are indifferent to the whole problem, though they will contradictorily acknowledge the importance of finishing high school. Among the high school children there is likewise the problem of "what to do?", and the very question of whether or not to finish high school also looms large as a conflict situation. Finally, among the "sorrys" there is a persisting apathy and indifference about education. They are the least educated, the first to drop out, and parental insistence on finishing school is almost non-existent. It seems that those most oriented to an active coping with their environment are those who continue to do the same in the face of the problems of a rapidly changing social structure.

The following summarizes this section graphically.

"Now a man needs an education"

	"Better" Class	**"Get by" Class**	**"Sorry" Class**
Step 1. **System Defined Dissatisfaction:**	"We got as much as we could, our children will get more"; not a problem. Children: problem of "What am I going to be?" and "What can I do around here?"	"We don't have enough; what else can we do?" Children: problem of "What will I do?" and "Should I finish?"	"I don't have an education. I don't care." Children usually drop out early.
Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance:**	No evidence of troubles with parents; children in conflict over what to be; isolated from parental help.	Unrealistic value that education doesn't matter, but it does; children in conflict over opposing values of parents and teachers.	Unrealistic value that education is of little or no importance; apathy; children drop out.
Step 3. **Handling and Attempts to Realize Existing Values:**	Education was always important; was limited by opportunities.	"It doesn't really matter" is definition of long standing.	History of indifference and contempt for educational values.
Steps 4-7. **Speculation on New or Altered Norms:**	(The basic orientation to education remains as indicated in Step 3 above).		
	Encourage educational achievement; see education as crucial to living in modern society.	Not very concerned; "It doesn't matter" still prevails. Same as Step 3.	Indifferent value. Same as Step 3.

CHAPTER 9

"FAMILY NAME NO LONGER CARRIES YOU"

In pre-urban times, family reputation was the crucial basis for social status, but in the urbanizing period, achievement takes greater precedence as a criterion.[1] In general terms, this problem is locally phrased as "Family name no longer carries you," a definition reflecting the shift in emphasis from status based on family name, or ascription, to achievement criteria.

The Crisis Problem:[2] "Family Name No Longer Carries You."

The meaning of this problem will be approached both through local definitions of the problem and its origin in the context of social change. Following this, the different class involvements in the problem will be explored.

Local definitions of the meaning of "family name no longer carries you" provide an introduction to the problem:

> Family meant a whole lot in my younger days. Now don't misunderstand, I don't like to be judging or looking down the nose, like they say here. People do more of that now. Now it's all different. It's all money that counts. The fine homes, the big cars. The ones who have are big, the ones who don't have it are lower down on the scale. At the bottom are the no-accounts. . ." (Informant was a school teacher, in her late seventies, from the "better class.)

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> Used to be that a person could get by on his family name. That is less and less true today. (Informant was from the "get by" class, a man in his late twenties.)

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> Way back, everyone used to be more equal. Now it seems as though when a fellow has more than another, he gets to feeling better than him. I call them stuck on themselves. We never used to have much of that. You didn't know if one man was richer than another. There

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[1] Robert Redfield. "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (January, 1947), p. 302; Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, 1936), pp. 113-131; Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 94.

[2] Throughout this monograph we are reporting *modal* patterns.

> wasn't to much difference then in income. Now people are on different planes. Look at my son. His wife thinks she has to be better than anyone. I don't like it. (This informant was a man in his seventies, full of lore and knowledge about the past, and from the "better" class.)

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> I know people have become more conscious of class differences. Since the war, people have more money and the differences are more obvious. You know, during the depression no one had too much. The differences were never too great. Now with more money, all that has changed. Once it was who you were, now it's how much you have that counts the most. (This informant was from the "get by" class. He is in his late fifties.)

These quotations reflect several basic aspects of the changing status system, as culturally defined. There is a general awareness that family reputation is no longer the primary criterion for social status, as well as a realization that acquiring symbols of success, such as cars and houses, has become far more important as a criterion of status. One now has to earn status. As this shift has come about, especially since World War II, awareness of class differences and advantages has apparently increased. Indeed, "family no longer carries you." Increased urbanization has created a new shifting and sorting in terms of social status. In order to better understand its changing patterns, a general picture of the status system prior to social change must be considered.

Prior to World War I, there were three social classes which closely followed the occupational structure. The "better" class were the larger farmers, the "get bys" were the smaller farmers and renters, and the "sorry" class were subsistence farmers, gatherers, and hunters. Family status, the primary criterion of prestige, was thus largely correlated with land holdings, just as the earliest settlers, usually the largest land holders, possessed the "honored" names. Other ranking criteria were important too—work effort, personal honesty, and religious sincerity, but above all, family name indicated status. The Barrols were all considered "sorry," the Joneses were all considered "better" people.

All of this was to change. The development of wage work after about 1910 was particularly important in changing the structure of the status system. Timbering and mica work, developed before World War I, were the first opportunities for wage work and for alternatives to farming. The job of picking galax leaves for so much per thousand was also initiated before World War I. The building of roads in the 1920's, and the building of the Parkway in the 1930's provided more opportunities for wages and for developing skills such as stone masonry for overpasses. The expansion of forestry service activities since the 1930's opened even more different jobs—from unskilled labor to forestry management. But the big influx of new skills and wage opportunities came after World War II with the establishment of several mills in the area. The expansion of sheet mica processing for government stockpiling in the 1950's opened up almost 250 new jobs requiring varying skills. Altogether, we have a picture, then, of an occupational system becoming more diversified, more dependent on skills, and more stratified within itself—from high to low skills—than during the pre-urban period when there were very few alternatives to farming.

Another series of change factors having to do with changing status values is also most important. Many veterans of World War II came home with a keen sense that the poverty and backwardness of the community had to be overcome. Many wanted better jobs, which in turn would allow them to improve economically. In other words, many came home with success motivations; they wanted to improve themselves, and wanted to work and earn a better living.

Another source of changing values came through greatly expanded mass communications, namely television and radio, although it was not until 1952 that most of the township had electricity. With increased one-way communications from radio and television, the success values of achievement were apparently encouraged. Symbols of success were associated with houses, cars, clothes, etc., all acquired through economic success, which in turn is dependent on achievements in skills, in work, and, for the younger generation, in education.

These, then, were some of the major sources of change affecting a stratification system based on status defined by ascription—family name. Out of the urban changes came different criteria based more on achievement. Better jobs, requiring achievements in education and higher skills, usually went to those who had achieved the required skills, not merely on the basis of family reputation. Through the mass media, many more were exposed to the dominant American[3] success ambitions, which often meant a new home along the road, a better car, and now, for a few, going to college. Thus, it is not surprising to hear the statement, "family name no longer carries you." Achievement has become far more important, though not exclusively the source of status. An informant summarized the changes as follows:

> People have changed. Look at my father. My kinfolks were among the ealiest settlers. They owned almost all of (B) Road. They weren't rich, but they did better than anyone else. They were respected members of the community. If you were a (S), you were someone. That lasted for a long time. Now look at our family. One of my cousins is a loafer and a drunk. No one respects him. My father has earned his way. I am going to college. Now it's the confidence you show that you can make your own that counts, not who you are. People don't pay as much attention to that. . . (The informant was twenty years old, from the "better" class.)

We will now see how different classes are involved in the problem of a changed status system.

The Steps of Structural Differentiation - Steps 1-7.

Step 1. **System Defined Dissatisfaction.** Status roles and threats to them vary within the class structure. In the "better" class, the problem of status is usually defined as "you have to earn it now." Success is expressed in terms of job, income, place of residence, and public respectability. Family reputation is still important, but does not bestow social status as in the past. As a result, some measure of threat is posed.

> My family has always been very respected in these parts. My kinfolks came over in the late 1700's. Ours is a respected family name around here. It's changed a good bit now, though. A man can't count on that alone anymore. Now it's money that counts. Being a good citizen is important. Taking care of your family is important. And that takes money now. I earn a good living. That is what counts. Look at the (S) family. One son has done well. People respect him. His brother is a drunk and a loafer. He's low class. Yet the family used to be top people. . .

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[3] Robin Williams, *American Society*, Second edition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), pp. 417-421.

Among the "get by" class, the most typical statement of the status problem is "now it's money that counts, and we don't have much of that." Their occupational roles are generally unstable. In the face of having to "earn" status, this group is frequently beset by the uncertanity of how to acquire the dollars that mean success in the marketplace.

> I work in mica. I work sometimes, sometimes I am laid off. It's hard to make it. Money means more these days than it did. Before, I could get along with our canning, a cow and chickens. Now we need money. People look down on the fellow who isn't earning for his family. (The informant was in the "get by" class. He is about forty-five years old.)

In the "sorry" class, threats to social status are largely in terms of an awareness of being looked down upon by others in the community: "People don't care for us." This situation is apparently not new because this group has always been seen as "sorry" by others. If someone's last name is considered to belong to "bad" people, others usually relate to them as undesirables, whose children must be kept away from their own. They are known as "no goods" whose children are expected to be the same. As a result status is still usually ascribed in this group:

> Look at those people who live up at the head of the creek. They are thieves and drunks, men who beat their wives and mothers who neglect their kids. Who can have any use for them? They are dirty and bad. Their morals are terrible. Some of those teenage girls will go with any man. . . (The informant was a school teacher, from the "better" class.)

The foregoing points of dissatisfaction are best understood in the social context changes. The pre-urban status values associated social position with family reputation, which tended to be handed on from generation to generation. With increasing urbanization, this situation has changed, but not for the "sorry" group whose status is still largely ascribed.

Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance.** In the "better" class, there is evidence of at least two symptoms of dissatisfaction over social status. First, some interpersonal conflict exists over the criteria defining one's reputation in the community. Largely a generational value conflict, the older people often find "outward" show distasteful, yet see their children buying the symbols of "better" class respectability, such as newer cars and homes along the road.

Second, in about one fourth of the families in this group, there are children who are doing better in the wage economy than their siblings, with subsequent differences in style of life. Informants reported that this had led to some conflict over status. For example, in one family, one son is in the "better" class, another in the "get by," although the family in the past would have been classified as "better" by others in the community. As a result, the two sons, both in their thirties, no longer get along and would not visit their parents at the same time. An informant perceptively expressed the problem this way:

> My family is a good example. One of my uncles is definitely in the "get by" category. He only works when he pleases. My other uncle is enterprising and does well. He is respected by others. They think he is a good provider. My family let him know that. My other uncle is seen as letting his family down. He feels this too. He's taken to drinking now, which he never used to do. Now in my grandfather's time this would have been been less likely to happen.

An interesting symptom of the "get by" class concerning social status is the gossip over how well the head of a household is able to provide for the necessities of life. The gossip also deals with how well others manage their households, that is, how well they plan their resources. The gossip furthermore includes speculations on how well other parents are raising their children. Rarely complimentary, it thus appears that this status oriented gossip is a reflection of the group's own uncertain economic situation and possibly a projection of its own concerns with correct and attainable values and goals:

> There is a lot of bad talk among these people about others. They rarely stop to say anything good. They like to point out the other families' fights and problems and tough times. You'd think they enjoyed the other fellows' misery.

Among the "sorry" class, the most evident symptom of lower and almost outcast status is the hostility and suspiciousness towards those they see as looking down on them personally and socially. As a result of this, there is some tendency to with-draw socially. In one case, this withdrawal took the form of creating their own church, a Free Will Baptist group in which there is a great deal of talk about their social deprivation. They seem to see their church as a grouping of the less fortunate and the rejected.

> We don't have much here, but ours will be the mansions of heaven. People can look down on me, but I am saved. They don't want people in their church who wear overalls. That is okay with me. I have a real church of my own where they really preach the Bible. The Lord will make me happy and take care of me. I know it to be true. . .

Step 3. **Handling and Attempts to Realize Existing Values.** In the "better" class, the older values of family solidarity and the search for means to cope with the situation have helped meet the problem of "now a man has to earn his own way." "Family name" has been a resource to adapt to the changes. Through family contacts to help secure jobs, and through job self-sufficiency, the men in this group have usually been able to obtain reasonably good work. In so doing, they have been able to secure a more stable place in the urbanizing economy. As a result, they can better realize community and in-group norms of status respectability and are able to earn and secure the symbols and live in the style of life of the more urban-like social structure. The importance of "family name" has been through patterns of family solidarity and their value of mastering the economic sphere:

> These folks were energetic. They seem to me to have been adaptable. They came to these hills to make their own way. They have usually been able to do that. (The informant, the only historian of the area, is in his late seventies.)

"Get by" class utilization of past patterns has been different from the other two groups. Social status here has been made uncertain by low paying and unstable wage work. "Now it is money that counts. We don't have much of that. And there is nothing we can do about it." As will be developed in the next chapter, religious values provide some support for the deprivations of worldly existence through a promise of rewards and status security in the next world:

> People of this type have usually accepted things as they are. They aren't too energetic. It's a type of what will be, will be reaction. The women expecially have their religion to comfort them.

Threats to social prestige have been, and continue to be, met largely with religious values and beliefs. Their status has been socially defined as "sorry," as undesirable. They are the "sorry" families. They are told by their preachers, for example, that they who are the outcasts and unhappy in this life will reap the rewards of Heaven. Another aspect of the utilization of past values is the feeling that they are as "good" as anyone else. They could survive in the past, and they could live as they pleased:

> They usually turn to religion, the shouting and hollowing kind, for help. But the trouble with that is they have trouble staying religious and believing. The men like to feel they are anyone's equal. Look at these boys who run around with their shirts off. They are trying to show their manliness. The men will get drunk to show just how good a man they are.

Step 4. **The Encouragement of New Ideas and Definitions.** By the late 1940's, the concept that educational advancement was crucial to success had developed considerably among the "better" class. Education became a more important goal which permitted not only occupational participation in a changing economy, but social success as well. The motivations to improve were apparently already there; the opportunities widened with more and better schools. The raising of skill levels with new industries and the emphasis on success brought back by returning servicemen reinforced those definitions. By the late 1940's and into the 1950's, the definition was that educational achievement was imperative if a person or family wanted to be "somebody." The importance of a car, a nice house, and "stylish" clothes became new ways to express status:

> These families realized that education was most important if a person wanted to escape from the log cabin and poor living. Education grew to be seen as a way out. Finishing at least high school became a bigger goal. As you know, World War II changed things a lot. After that, they wanted to cover up the cabins. They saw how others lived, and they wanted those

same things. Just wearing overalls was no longer respectable.

There was no evidence that either the "get by" or "sorry" class has progressed into Step 4.

Steps 5-7. **The Implementation of New Ways of Doing Things.** By the latter part of the 1950's, the norms defining status achievement in the "better" class had crystallized to a considerable extent. The very important preservation of "family name" took different forms — credit buying, especially for status items such as a new car, became a regular part of the way of life for most of these families. The norm that a man had to earn his own way had become quite well accepted and social esteem was bestowed on those who were doing well economically. An oldtimer told this observer that it used to be that a man's moral behavior defined his status, now what he earned and displayed was more important than what kind of person he was. Furthermore, the commitment to education as an imperative for social success became quite specific. Even the encouragement of a college education became a norm of some importance. Finally, there are now examples of men in the "better" class whose failure, such as in business, has led to social rejection, despite "family name." In other words, it has become easier than in earlier times to be a black sheep in the family because economic criteria have become far more important in defining success and failure.

> These folks have increasingly become like town people. They want to escape the image of the impoverished, backward mountain men. Look at the nice homes they build. More and more of them want to send their children to college. They are more concerned with worldly success; their fathers and grandfathers were more concerned with Heavenly success. (The informant is the historian of the region of which Blue Ridge is highly typical.)

Summary

The problem of "family name no longer carries you" reveals, in culturally phrased terms, the problem of the change from status ascription to achievement. Among the "better" class, this problem is usually defined as "now you have to earn your way." Although this has created some problems over class differences within a given family, this group has used education and family connections and a value-motivation to "get ahead" to adapt to the changing society. It has had the role and value resources to find new ways of doing things.

In the "get by" class, the status problem is usually defined as "now it is money that counts, and we don't have it." A symptom of this problem is the unkind gossip about those who are seen as not providing reasonably well for their families. Yet they appear to have adapted with a norm of "we'll get by," which is correspondingly their motivational orientation as well. As will be discussed in the next chapter, a religious sense of acceptance, a mild fatalism, is utilized to adapt to these problems.

Among the "sorry" class, there is the perception that others look down upon them as social outcasts. This in turn appears to have aroused a great deal of hostility and suspiciousness of others in the community and toward outsiders in particular. They fear visitors come to make fun of the "family in the log cabin." Their adaptation has been one of apathy or fatalism along with the creation of a new church which emphasizes personal dignity and the rewards of the afterlife. In the main, it appears that the religious grouping, under the Free Will Baptists, provides an escape from low socio-economic status by emphasizing with renewed force the fundamentalism of the past.[4]

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[4] Anton T. Boisen, "Economic Distress and Religious Experience," "*Psychiatry*, 2 (May, 1939), p. 191; J. Milton Yinger, *Religion, Society, and the Individual* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957), p. 173. For a contrary view, but of the Holiness sect, see Benton Johnson, "Do Holiness Sects Socialize in Dominant Value?" *Social Forces*, 34 (May, 1961), pp. 309-316.

"Family name no longer carries You"

	"Better" Class	"Get by" Class	"Sorry" Class
Step 1. **System Defined Dissatisfaction:**	You have to earn it now." Status achieved more than ascribed.	"Now it's money that counts, and we don't have much of that."	"People don't care for us." Looking down upon by others.
Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance:**	Generational conflicts over status behavior; siblings in different social classes create conflict.	Vicious gossip concerning how others are providing for their families.	Hostility and suspiciousness of "others" who exclude them socially.
Step 3. **Handling and Attempts to Realize Existing Values:**	"Family name" and value to achieve used to earn status.	Religious values of accepting the lower and unstable socio-economic status; some status achievement,. with wife earning as well.	Past value of "we are as good as anyone;" promise of Utopia in afterlife.
Step 4. **Encouragement of New Ideas:**	Idea that education was essential to social success well developed by late 1940's.	No evidence.	No evidence.
Steps 5-7. **Implementation of New Ways of Doing Things:**	"Family name" preserved through achievements in job, family, and religion; education became a most important value.	No evidence.	No evidence.

CHAPTER 10

"RELIGION — THE TRADITIONAL AND THE MODERN"

As a result of social change, specifically the increasing social differentiation brought about by the changed and expanded division of labor, there has been an increased differentiation in religious beliefs. In pre-urban, or folk-like, times, the religious system was relatively homogeneous; the people were practically all fundamentalists, but with changes in life styles over the years, there are now several different denominations[1] ranging from the fundamentalist to the more modern, or "liberal," in orientation. In general terms, many of the present defined crises are related to "traditional versus modern" religion.[2] We will examine the different meanings this problem has for the three churches in Blue Ridge.

The Crisis Problem: "The traditional versus the modern."

The meaning of this problem within a religious system in transition will be illuminated in two ways, by examining the cultural definition of the problem, and then by studying the origin of the problem in the context of a community undergoing social change. Then, we shall examine more microscopically the crises and attempts at solution within different church groups which are themselves largely, but not completely, correlated with social class.

The local perceptions of the definitions of the situation, in terms of the crises of changing religious values, reveal much of the problem. The following quotes illuminate these local definitions:

> The church is now a form. They don't have the spirit and feeling they once had. The preachers seem to be saying the same things they did when I was young, but it doesn't seem to hold onto the folks like it used to. The young don't attend to church like they used to. They seem to prefer to just follow their own ways. I don't like this, but there isn't anything I can do about

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[1] Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957), pp. 54-83; Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Reprinted (New York: Collier Books, 1961), pp. 462-488.

[2] Throughout this monograph we are reporting *modal* patterns.

it. Even the preachers have changed. I think they shouldn't be paid. If they receive pay, it is like getting paid to work on Sunday. That is a sin. Now they've made a job out of it. If a man feels called to preach, he should. The feeling is gone now.

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We all used to be fundamentalists. That meant you took the Bible to say what it says. And it meant that you could express your feelings. A man knew what it meant to be saved, to be reborn by Christ. It kept you away from sin and worldly temptations. People had real religion. Now it's changing. The young laugh at the shouting. They are more interested in running after pleasure than heeding the Bible. The devil has a hold of them. They aren't saved. The good old religion is being pushed out.

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Revivalism and fundamentalism were an outgrowth of the economic conditions here. It isn't here that one finds rewards; it is in Heaven. This was characteristic of the entire area. And they expressed their feelings against those who had. They insisted you wouldn't have it here, but in heaven. I think this was strongest during the (19)20's and (19)30's because the economy was very unstable then.

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People are no longer sure just what sin means. It used to include everything from drinking and dancing to adultery. Is it bad to dance? What is pleasure? Is wearing lipstick sinful? The preacher has a TV set. Is that bad? One lady I know refused to have a TV set because they show people dancing together. Up near the gap, there is a church where the old folks are shouting and the young are laughing at them. These are just some of the dilemmas you find here in the churches, some more than others. Some churches, like the Presbyterian, are more at peace with the changes. The Free Will see everything as bad. There is a range of reactions.

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Religious activities have changed a great deal. When I was young, we'd have big revivals. People would come in big crowds. They'd say they got happy from it. I have heard people say that this was an old model and we should get rid of it. If you feel like shouting, you should be allowed to do it.

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I think a basic aspect of the problem of religion here is the meaning of church membership. It has changed.

> It used to be that the church was just about the only center of social activity. Now, there are other things to do. Now, the meaning of salvation has differing definitions. Now, what is good or bad is no longer clear. Now, a lot of people go for social reasons, not because they feel religion. It used to be that church membership was essential to being well thought of in the community. Now, that is not so true. Much has changed. The church here in the township is a battle ground of a lot of changes. You have seen that for yourself.

These quotations reflect the several dimensions of the crises in the religious structure of Blue Ridge. First, the problem of the traditional versus the modern is revealed. That is, for many the fundamentalist religious orientation is often in conflict with a more liberal interpretation of the Bible. Second, the definition of salvation is in question. In the past, the saved person was highly oriented to an other world philosophy, in contrast to a more secular view of life. The definition of sin included just about anything pleasureable or worldly. Third, many find that the areas of life which are sacred or profane are in question or in conflict. For example, is recreation a secular and therefore a bad kind of social behavior? This is an important question for those caught in the dilemmas of the old ways versus the new.

Finally, the crises for others center around the meaning of church membership once thought imperative to social participation and social respectability. This value is no longer so urgent and the younger generation in particular is not as committed as their parents to membership and church support. All these aspects of the problem of a changing and transitional religious system are centrally important to an understanding of the crises confronting the various sub-groups of the community. This is true since religion is still a very important part of their life, regardless of class or denomination. The more specific expressions of these problems will be dealt with in Step 1.

The origin of these problems in the context of social change is most important, so we shall examine the past patterns and sources of change which gave rise to the present dilemmas.

During the pre-urban period and well into the 1930's, the concept of fundamentalism—the Bible's unquestioned truth, salvation from sin and death through Jesus Christ, and an emphasis on the emotional in religious experience—was the basic religious orientation of all classes. Shouting and hollering with great freedom were highly esteemed forms of behavior because they let a person show that the Spirit was within him. A man in his seventies described the services this way:

> You could go to church and have feelings. People shouted and hollered. They had a good time.

Particular emphasis was placed on the afterlife. Being saved assured the person of eternal life. Indeed, much of life was oriented to the home of Heaven. Preachers, for example, emphasized that the purpose of this life was to be ready for the next, the Hereafter. Along with this, there was a distaste for the things of this world. What happened here and now was not so important. The total equality of things and relationships was reserved for the next world.

> We were told that it was not important to store up things for this life. It was okay to be a pauper. It was the next life that meant something. You had to be saved to enjoy that.

All classes of the community were indeed a part of the so-called Bible Belt. It was highly rewarding to be known as "saved" and to be a good church member. Furthermore, the Bible provided many rules for everyday behavior, such as how to use the herbs of the fields for the healing powers they possess. Therefore, one "doctored" with roots and herbs. Another example: a "good" husband found aspects of his role defined by the Bible. The man as head of the household was Biblically sanctioned. The point is that a great part of life was defined in terms of Biblical norms.

Revivalism was another important feature of religious life at this time. "Being saved" was reinforced by frequent revivals when the community collectively expressed its allegiance to the importance of salvation and also helped bring people "back in line," that is, it reminded them of their religious obligations. Revivals were also ways in which new members could show their religious fervor. Finally, these revivals were great social events when neighbors and kinfolk could meet together.

During this time, there were few competing beliefs and fundamentalism set a limited religious perspective. There were

Methodists and Baptists and a very few Presbyterians, but they differed little in their basic beliefs. The next question must focus on the factors which helped change this relatively homogeneous religious system. Out of these changes have come many of the present value and role problems.

There seem to be several very important factors which brought about changes in the religious system. The changing occupational structure is one of these. As discussed previously, from the beginning of wage work, around World War I to the present, the number of occupational skills has increased gradually. This shifting division of labor has moved the community from a largely subsistence agricultural community to a more urbanized occupational structure. These changes have apparently widened the social classes both in terms of styles of life, and an increased sense of class membership. As a result, the churches now reflect more closely the socio-economic structure of the community.

These changes have been reflected in the churches in terms of increased differences among them in terms of doctrine and membership. In social class terms, Methodist membership is almost exclusively "better" class. The Missionary Baptist church is a mixture of "better" (about 35 percent) and "get bys" (about 65 percent). The Free Will Baptist church is almost exclusively made up of "sorry" class members. In terms of religious orientation, these churches reflect a continuum from the more modern and accepting of the secular, as among the Methodists, to the more fundamentalistic, as among the Free Will Baptists, and, of course, a sizable part of the Missionary Baptist membership who were fundamentalists. Thus, to a community once overwhelmingly fundamentalistic there has come an increased differentiation as to membership and religious orientation, especially since World War II. For example, the Free Will Baptist church, which did not exist until 1952, crystallized the breaking off of a separate "old time" church.

There have been other important mechanisms of change. During the 1920's, the issue of Protestant modernism or liberalism arose in the community through church publications and controversial outside ministers. According to informants, this conflict took form around arguments about the literalness of the Bible, about the importance of the social gospels, and about the relative merits of justification by faith or works. Local reaction took the form of a stronger encouragement of fundamentalism in which any and all things secular, of this world were strongly denounced, apparently by both Methodists and Missionary Baptists who during this period made "sin" out of dancing and social drinking. Anyhow, for the time being, the result was a stronger fundamentalism.[3]

From the late 1920's to the present a gradual integration of the local Missionary Baptist churches into the activities of the State Baptist Convention has meant that the preachers became better trained and that local members were exposed to church literature other than the Bible so that the controversies over modernism and fundamentalism were again emphasized through publicity on the subject. For example, when the Baptist Convention approved the Revised Standard Edition of the Bible, more fundamentalistic members were quite angry, and some left the Missionary Baptist church as a result. A basic argument was over the issue of salvation by faith or by works.

World War II had a considerable influence on the religious system when veterans apparently came home no longer satisfied with a log cabin and a poor job. Generally, they wanted to emulate the success values of people with middle-class incomes. They wanted to live better, to have good jobs, and to escape the poverty or low income of the area. The churches, then, had to deal with the increasing importance of secular success values in a community which formerly defined social success very much in terms of not partaking of worldly things. This in turn helped reduce the importance of church membership. Before the coming of better paying jobs, the church had been the chief institution outside the family, but then the kind of work done and the enjoyment of a better income became of considerable importance. With enough money to own a car, one could drive to a movie rather than to prayer meetings on Wednesday evening. Or one could take a Sunday drive rather than go to church. Following World War II, with the influences of returned servicemen and local opportunities for wage work greatly expanded, material and secular values became much more important. The changes in the religious system occurred out of the foregoing social forces in Blue Bidge. The crises over the traditional and the modern, the meaning of salvation, and the meaning and importance of church membership emerged as reflections of the unresolved problems in the community. Now we can examine how the different religious groups have defined their dissatisfactions and attempted to find some solutions to the problems they face.

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[3] For a brilliant examination of the psychological consequences of these sentiments, see James L. Peacock, "The Southern Protestant Ethic Disease," (unpublished paper, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, January, 1969).

Steps of Structural Differentiation - Steps 1-7.*

Step 1. **System Defined Dissatisfactions.** The effect of social change has had different implications for the several denominations of the community. There are certainly different types of dissatisfactions or threats within each church so these differences can best be studied in terms of the three church groups in the Community — Methodists, Missionary Baptists, and Free Will Baptists.

At the time of the research, the major threat within the Methodist church was summed up as: "Are we dying out?," a question made even more interesting by the fact that the Methodists built a new brick church in the early 1950's when membership had declined from about a hundred during the 1930's and 1940's, to about twenty-five at the time of the field work. Several factors account for this decline: many of the young people from the "better" class migrated to jobs elsewhere, or have lost interest in church activities; and the tendency of the church in record years to modernity—it uses the Revised Standard Edition of the Bible, for example—has driven the more fundamentalistic into the Missionary Baptist church or into an indifference about church membership. A fourth reason for the decline in membership is the increased status differential among the churches. "Those who wear overalls" would not feel welcome in the Blue Ridge Methodist church, so it is not surprising to find the issue or threat of membership and continuity a central question.

There are other problems confronting the Methodist church. Although "modern" and more accepting of secular values, there seemed to be a continuing uncertainty over just how "modern" was defined. What does it include? What does it exclude? A consensus has not been worked out, although the orientation to being "modern" is generally accepted. Another

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*These different adaptations probably reflect the differing religious modes of either *encouraging* modernization or adapting to the *consequences* of modernization.

problem centers around the meaning of membership, which is no longer essential for social standing in this group, particularly since this group is the most economically successful. As a result, many members expressed a conflict over the meaning that church membership had for them and what needs they expected the church to meet in the changing world:

> Our church has a big problem. We have a new church but old members. Many of the young have lost interest. What needs can the church meet for them? They have a car and can have fun. They don't seem to need religion. I guess some of this has to do with our changing times. I wish we knew how to make more life in this group of good people.

Among the members of the Missionary Baptist church, the best summarizing expression of the threats within the group is in the phrase "We are divided." This crisis has many ramifications, for this group is indeed divided and beset with many problems. First, the social class make-up of the church is divided between the "better" and the "get by" class. Second, the church split over the issue of fundamentalism and liberalism in preachers results in shifts between these opposing viewpoints. One preacher was released because he used the new Bible, another hired because he preferred the Revised. Third, one group maintains that the Bible is literally true, another that you can interpret the meaning of the Bible for yourself through scholarly works. Fourth, the meaning of salvation is open to argument. Does salvation mean that you are saved by faith alone? Does it mean that you are saved by works? Or does it mean that both faith and works are involved? There is much role conflict around these questions. Fifth, the meaning of sin, related to the concept of salvation, is open to question. Does sin include the use of makeup on a young lady's face? Is it sinful to have fun? Is it sinful to dance? Is it sinful to have pleasure? These questions were in serious debate. Sixth, there was the persistent worry over the reality of one's salvation. How can a person be sure that he is saved? This question is of serious concern and a threat to many. And can one distinguish between a truly saved person and one who is saved only by ritual? That is, the sincerity of a person's salvation was open to inquiry by neighbors and family. And how can an unsaved person be "good?" To be unsure of the sincerity of this most important status is very threatening in this culture. Thus, this church group is indeed divided. Above all, it has a membership troubled with many value and role dilemmas and interpersonal tensions.

> These people are in turmoil. Just look at the turnover in ministers and you will see. What one group is for, the other is against. They are fighting Christians. (The informant was a young man of nineteen who was a member of this church.)

Among the Free Will Baptists, we find yet another expression of the changes and problems in the organization of church groups in the community. "We have the real old time religion" expresses their orientation to religion and the problems they face. And it is important to note that this is a newly formed religious group, entirely from the "sorry" class, that did not exist in the community until the early 1950's. In their feeling of having the traditional religion, we also find much of their disturbance. First, they view the world as a bad place where one cannot expect to find satisfaction and security. They see themselves as dispossessed of worldly things, but possessed of solace in the mansions of Heaven which they will inherit. They feel looked down upon by others, but say they are the select of God. In other words, they express in their religious events a great social dissatisfaction over poverty and low status. They feel that they have the only true religion, the good old time religion, which permits shouting and hollering and frequent revivals. And, very important, their concept of salvation is different from the other religious groups. They believe that if you sin in any manner, you must be saved again. As a result, they are frequently in a turmoil over whether they are saved or not, which requires frequent revivals to reassure them they are, a belief accompanied by a repeated insistence on the unworthiness and badness of man, a belief shared with the Missionary Baptists as well. Thus, we see here a religious protest against low status, a very negative view of man, and a great uncertainty over the "saved" status.

> These people are against everything and everybody. Just listen. They hate the other churches and feel like they are the oppressed. They never seem to know where they stand. People call many of them Bible-hardened. They can't stay saved and give up.

The foregoing different patterns of religious orientation and problems are in considerable contrast to the pre-urban period when fundamentalism generally set a rather homogeneous religious perspective. But with the increasing differentiation of a way of life which was correlated with increased urbanization, we have observed an increased differentiation in the style of life by religious groups. Not only has this religious style changed, but the different religious groups reflect different responses to problems of change. In their dissatisfactions, we have seen different adaptations and differing definitions of the situation. In subsequent steps, we will observe other symptoms and responses to these problems.

Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance.** As expected, there are different symptoms of disturbance within the different religious groups. Among the Methodists, the single most salient symptom of disturbance is the decline of value and role commitment to church attendance and support. This group apathy is symbolic of the goal dissatisfactions reflected in the threat of "we are a dying church." The problem is further expressed by many younger people who find little meaning and interest in church functions. Rather, church is attended largely by the older and more prosperous members of the community who go because it is socially respectable. Furthermore, apathy appeared to be more common among men than among women.

> The Methodist church has a real problem. Look at the number who attend in that large, new church. It would hold a hundred people easy. They are lucky to have twenty-five on a Sunday morning, which is better than it was about ten years ago. Many of the active members are old or women. The men don't care too much. Many were surprised by a minister they had several years ago who became a strong fundamentalist. He was a highly educated minister from Yale. But he didn't find too much enthusiasm and left for a church in the piedmont. There is some conflict in this group, but they are largely at peace with worldly things. Maybe that is why they don't have such an active membership.

In the Missionary Baptist church there were more clear-cut symptoms of disturbance, the most observable being the frequent interpersonal conflicts within the church over liberalism versus fundamentalism. One group wanted a modern preacher who did not shout and holler, while the other group, more fundamentalistic, wanted the shouting type of religion with a preacher who was truly called to his ministry. Another expression of this conflict was found in the groups who attended and those who stayed away in protest. When the time came to pick a new minister, these two factions battled each other over what type they wanted. One minister left the church because he felt pulled by both factions.

A major symptom of disturbance was expressed in various forms of stated personal conflicts. First, there is a common threat expressed over the fear of whether a person is sinning or not. This is due to the lack of clarity over whether certain types of behavior are indeed sinful. For example, does the purchase of a television set, which is worldly pleasure, constitute sinfulness? If a family watches dancing on the television set, is this bad? Such questions were reflections of disagreements over modern versus fundamentalistic definitions.

Second, there is a great deal of stated threat expressed over being saved or not. If a person is not saved, this means a separation from God, a separation from the company of "good" people, a suspicion by others that one's life is sinful, and he is doomed to an afterlife in Hell. This serious problem has a long history in the community, although recent declines in church membership have placed more people in this quandary.

Third, another quandary is caused by the belief that man is fundamentally bad and that his nature is evil. For example, after a revival, the minister will be confronted with many members who fearfully ask about their "bad selves."

Finally, there is the role dilemma over the importance of membership. How important is it to be a church member? This is a relatively new question. One family in the Missionary Baptist church was greatly disturbed by the refusal of their eighteen-year old son to join the church and "get saved." Not only did they feel this reflected on them as parents, but they also feared for the salvation of the boy. With more young people questioning the meaning of church membership, this type of threat was increasing, according to informants:

> There is a lot of strife in that church. I know. My parents are members, and I have refused to join. The church is split bad between the fundamentalists and the more liberal. Look at the way they argue over what

> is the devil's work and what is the Lord's work. I stay away because so many think just about everything is bad and ugly. I remember as a kid how those preachers used to scare me with all that shouting and threating the devil.

Among the Free Will Baptists, a most symbolic expression of their dissatisfaction is in their rejection of this world and their hopes for "the mansions of Heaven." At regular church services and in revivals, this is the dominant theme. Economically unstable and poor, they are the most deprived group in the community and, as indicated, are looked down upon as social outcasts. Out of this condition has arisen, since about 1952, a newly organized church devoted to assuring its members of a Utopia in the other world of Heaven. Not only does it assure a Utopia which will compensate them for their lowly social position in this life, but it also makes them feel that they alone have the "real" Christianity, that they are the elect, and that others in the community are not "true believers." Furthermore, they emphasize that they have the old time religion, while the other churches have only watered down Christianity. One member of this church expressed much of this when he said:

> Come to our church tonight and hear a real Christian sermon. The preacher has the word of God in his mouth. He tells us that others may have fancy clothes and cars, but we have the joy of Heaven. We have the real salvation.

Step 3. **Handling and Attempts to Realize Existing Values.** In the concept of salvation we find a major definition of solutions for the existing problems within each of the three religious groups, although there are variations within each of their definitions. The emphasis on salvation provides a fundamental and continuing link of the core religious value to the problem of the contemporary scene.

A minimum definition of salvation pertinent to most Protestants in the community is in order at this point. In being saved, converted to a Christian, one acknowledges a personal God. Through accepting Jesus as the personal savior, freedom from sin and the promise of eternal life are assured. Christ becomes a "sin bearing substitute." Furthermore, the Bible is accepted as the expression of God's will. In being saved, a person is "born again" through accepting the Holy Spirit in one's own life and experiences. It should be emphasized that the act of salvation is a highly personal experience, is founded on a feeling of commitment, and is an act of faith.

In meeting the problem of a decline in membership and interest, the Methodist group has utilized the concept of salvation in several ways to maintain its existence. First, when the church was at its lowest ebb in the early fifties, with only a few interested families a local lay preacher visited many of the Methodist families and urged them to come back into the church. His most persistent message was the need for each man and each family to consider their state of salvation. Second, although some differences exist over doctrine, a point of consensus for the congregation membership is the acceptance of the belief in salvation. Thus, the concept of salvation is a unifying idea. It is rare for their preacher to fail to remind them of this and of the finiteness of human existence. Finally, the man who attempted to rebuild this group emphasized that the church had much to offer those in trouble or suffering. As a result, there has been a continuity within the Methodist church, a group practically defunct in the late forties:

> (P). . . . put life back in us. W would be lucky to have ten people at church before he got to work. We are still weak in numbers, and we still need to worry about all this building and few numbers, but we are doing better. (P.) taught the church could help us.

Among Missionary Baptists, the unifying norm that helps hold their conflict-ridden group together is a passionate orientation to the concept of salvation. Even though they dispute doctrinal implications, for example as to what is sinful about dancing, there is sufficient unity of meaning in the concept of salvation. Furthermore, with a sizable membership from the "get by" class, they have many members who find support when confronting uncertain economic situations. Indeed, it seemed to this observer that the Missionary Baptists, more than the Methodists, emphasized the function of Jesus as a sin bearing substitute, Jesus as a source of help, and Jesus as the basis of eternal life. Finally, when quarrels within the group get too heated, the common ground is the importance of being saved!

> I know that there is plenty of conflict and anxiety among the members of the church. I belong, and I hear

> it all the time. If it weren't for all the concern over being saved, I bet many would have left the church a long time ago. It is very important. Look at Mrs. (R). She was in the mental hospital. She tells people that she got well through being saved. People respect her for that. She is now a big source of unity in the church. She is on good terms with all the factions. They respect her religious power.

The Free Will Baptists have attempted to bring back the old time fundamentalism of before the turn of the century. More than the other two religious groups, they have turned to earlier religious values for religious answers to their problems. Indeed, the motive to found a Free Will Baptist church was to provide a strongly emotional "old timey" religion. Their concept of salvation deals not only with the meanings already discussed, but emphasizes others as well, such as the one that salvation rescues them from the unpleasantness of this life. Next, they strongly encourage the expression of religious feelings through shouting, hollering, and rolling in the aisles. Furthermore, as in earlier times, the Bible is examined with great literalness. They encourage a fatalism which helps a person accept whatever happens as God's will. Above all, they emphasize a return to the fundamentalism of the pre-urban period, with all of its revivalism and emotional expression:

> I helped organize this church. We have a real Christianity. When I go to church, I feel happy. I know the Lord will take care of me. It makes me so happy that I feel like jumping for joy. It makes me strong.

Step 4. **The Encouragement of New Ideas and Definitions.** In the late 1940's and early 1950's, the building of a new Methodist church in the face of a small membership symbolized the attempt to bring new ideas into play. This took the course, largely, of the creation of a new and "modern" church. At least, this was one of the motivating ideas for the new building, financed mostly by the Duke Foundation. The new church meant that survival as a group was more likely and that they could "get going" again as a vigorous church group. Along with the new church, the major idea that was re-emphasized in the Methodist group was the concept of salvation by works as well as by faith.

Salvation through works had apparently always been a part of the Methodist belief system, but during this period, it became more prominent. It meant that a person proved his state of salvation through work and social involvement, not merely through faith. Thus, with the new church and a relative shift in doctrinal emphasis to salvation through works as well as faith, the Methodists tried to keep their religious group alive:

> They were almost dead as a church in the late 1940's. One man got them going. He was able to get money from the Duke Foundation. He got money from some of the local people. Look at what they built. It's the nicest church in these parts. Look inside on a Sunday morning. They will have twenty-five people if they are lucky. The other thing was that they made a man feel that this world was okay too. That brought some of them back.

The new definitions that developed within the Missionary Baptist church were quite different from those in the Methodist church. During the forties and fifties, more "modern" or liberal ideas were introduced. These new ideas took the form of several key norms. First, there was the concept that the secular or wordly sphere of life was a good and not a bad interlude before Heaven. Second, and related to the first, there was the alternative norm that "enjoyment" of worldly pleasures, such as dancing and television for example, was not said to be "bad." Third, they confronted a norm that the Bible could not be read literally, that one could interpret meanings. Fourth, the norm was offered that salvation had to be expressed also in good works as well as faith. Finally, an alternative norm was introduced that the outward show of religious feelings through shouting and hollering was not necessary or "sophisticated." All these alternate definitions clashed with the fundamentalist group within the church which held quite contrary views. As a result, the Missionary Baptist church has been an arena of conflict between groups with opposing religious definitions—the fundamentalists versus the "modern:"

> That church is more full of conflict than Christian love. One group wants the old time way, the other group wants the more sophisticated way with better trained ministers. They are forever changing ministers over these very issues. Go up to the Missionary Baptist church near the gap and see another example of this. The old are shouting, and the young are laughing at them.

In the Free Will Baptist church, there is no evidence of any movement into Step 4. Rather, they have re-emphasized the old type of fundamentalism.

Steps 5-7. **The Implementation of New Ways of Doing Things or New Norms**. By the late 1950's, the establishment of a relatively modern and secularized group had emerged in the Methodist church. This world was acceptable and not "bad;" emotionalism was out; and the emphasis was more on salvation by works than on salvation by faith alone. The emergence of these changed norms no doubt brought some members back into the church. Indeed, the Methodist church emerged in the late 1950's with a quite distinct "better" class membership, a sign of the social approval within the membership as well. For example, it was not uncommon to hear that the Methodist church did not have members who wore overalls. But above all the Methodist emerged as the group most at peace with a secular world.

> I used to be a Baptist. It got so I couldn't stand it. I was tired of all the arguments over whether Jesus would come down on a cloud or if it just meant that people would do better themselves. So I quit. I joined the Methodist church and like it a lot more.

There was no evidence that the Missionary Baptist group had moved into Steps 5 through 7 at the time of the research. Indeed, they appeared deeply entrenched in Step 4 conflicts.

Summary*

In examining the changing religious life of Blue Ridge, the predominantly traditional and fundamentalistic orientation has been replaced with a religious diversity ranging from a denominational acceptance of the secular to a continuing and re-emphasized fundamentalism. Each of the churches reflects different problems and adaptations. In the Methodist church the question is still whether they can survive as a group - "Are we a dying church?" Although the most secular of the churches, its decline in religious commitment to the relevance of the church has made for a small membership, yet a closer orientation to salvation by works and better leadership has permitted

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*As *speculative* observations, I was intrigued by the extent to which the religious life of this community focused on a very narrow "model" of the "good" religious life, a sort of patriarchial deprivation in the sense of limiting the alternatives posed by the Biblical patriarchs. I was also curious over the fact that religious life began with a rich sense of *feelings*, yet paradoxically did not feel at home with sexual and agressive feelings.

the church to rally among a hard core that has kept it alive. Indeed, they have a new building, largely paid for by outside money, but with few pews filled.

Within the Missionary Baptist group, there is a great deal of dissatisfaction over fundamentalism versus modernism. This church is beset with conflicts of social transition, and crises of role uncertainty over personal religious worth are a big problem. "Am I saved? "Am I worthy?" are serious questions. Even so, the promises of salvation, over which there is some consensus, keep the group going in the midst of much discord.

Among the Free Will Baptists, there is renewed emphasis on the old time religion. Much of their religious service is concerned with open talk about low social and economic status, but they believe that the mansions of Heaven will compensate them for their low positions. Indeed, many believe that suffering makes them holier in this life. It is interesting that this group was recently formed, breaking off from the less fervent Missionary Baptist along with some families who had not belonged to local churches they considered insufficiently fundamentalistic.

"Religion, the traditional and the modern"

	"Better" Class	**"Get by" Class**	**"Sorry" Class**
Step 1. **System Defined Dissatifaction:**	"Are we dying out?"; some uncertainties over definition of "modernism."	"We are divided." The modern versus fundamentalism issue splits this church deeply.	"We have the old time religion." Dislike of worldly and modern Protestantism.
Step 2. **Symptoms of Disturbance:**	Decline in value commitments; apathy over membership.	Open conflicts; "Am I sining?;" "Am I saved?" Generational conflict; conflict over meaning of salvation and membership.	Rejection of world; hope for Utopia in Heaven; encourage move back to "old religion.
Step 3. **Handling and Attempts to Realize Existing Values:**	Concept of salvation helped bring church back a small membership; comfort in time of stress.	Common ground in concept of salvation used to mitigate much of conflict.	Emphasis on old time definition of salvation as a rescue from unpleasantness here.
Step 4. **Encouragement of New Ideas:**	Idea of a new church to get going again; idea of salvation by works re-emphasized.	More liberal ideas in the 40's and 50's; worldly acceptable; enjoyment not bad; emotional not necessary.	No evidence of change.

	"Better" Class	"Get by" Class	"Sorry" Class
Steps 5-7. **Specification and Implementation of New Norms:**	Methodists far more secularized; worldly became acceptable; salvation by works became key norm; emotionalism was ruled out.	Missionary Baptists split into "get by" and "better" classes; conflicts unresolved at time of research.	No interest in moving beyond Step 3.

CHAPTER 11

THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT*

The preceding chapters presented a case study of the crises created by social changes in Blue Ridge. At the same time, we discussed some of the dominant social and cultural patterns of an Appalachian community in transition. But to stop at this is really not enough because we are obliged to examine the way in which this material might be used in the social development of the Appalachian region. With this specific goal in mind, we will attempt four ways of providing some guidance for using this monograph for developmental efforts:

1) the implications of the theory of structural differentiation for development strategies;

2) the implications of Blue Ridge values of "independence" for crucial progress in education;

3) the implications of a "Non-Weberian Model of Bureaucracy" for development;

4) the implications of this study for a community study and action laboratory.

1. The Model of Structural Differentiation and It's Implications for Development

At the risk of some repetition, it should be pointed out that the model of structural differentiation involves dimensions of complexity and differentiation. The process of differentiation can be viewed as a sequence which, according to Smelser,[1] is divisible into seven steps:

Step 1: Dissatisfaction with or a threat to goal achievement is brought about through changes in the situation and/or within the system. The foci of these dissatisfactions are in terms of social system roles or resources that can be classified into four general types: value; motivations of individuals; the facilities which actors use; and, finally, integration or cohesion.

It is important to be keenly aware of the extent to which the opportunity to change exists. Another implication is the hypothesis that dissatisfactions help break what has in the past been called the "cake of custom." Taking a page out of the Alinsky[2] book for community organization purposes, you make people aware of their dissatisfactions and then you organize them to act on these dissatisfactions. Judging by our experience in Blue Ridge the subject of roads had widespread "dissatisfaction value" for creating an opportunity for social organization to solve a community problem. The roads problem cut across all political boundaries and was a subject of great community interest. People were keenly aware that where the road goes, progress, as they put it, goes.

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*This chapter was not a part of the original dissertation.

One other point gleaned from the Blue Ridge experience: a critical area in which the opportunity to change, to innovate for value alternatives, seemed to appear early in the church leadership of the moderate to modernistic type of church. My hunch also was that even in the most "traditional" churches there really was a hunger for finding less anxious ways of living, if the changes could be sanctioned within existing religious values and rewards.

Step 2: If these dissatisfactions continue or increase and are not solved, symptoms of disturbance are apparently inevitable. The usual social controls are broken or become less effective. In the classical sense, the general form of the symptoms are: 1) aggression, which tends to be unsocialized and/or the relaxation of the usual social controls; 2) fantasy, which goes beyond the cultural definition of the situation, such as the denial of the accepted means of attaining social goals, or commitment to unacceptable elements such as a belief in the impossible—"if only someone would do something;" and 3) anxiety, which involves diffuse fear.

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[1] Neil J. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 15-16. For examination of the strategic literature in this area, see: Robert S. Bales and Philip E. Slater, "Role Differentiation in Small Decision-making Groups," in Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales and Edward A. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action*, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953); Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, et al., *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956); Neil Smelser, *Social Change and the Industrial Revolution*, (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1959); Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family: A Comparative Study," in *Family, Socialization*, op. cit., pp. 307-51; Amitai Etzioni, "The Functional Differentiation of Elites in the Kibbutz," *American Journal of Sociology*, 69 (1959), pp. 476-87; Neil Smelser, "Toward a Theory of Modernizations," in Amitai and Eva Etzioni (eds.), *Social Change: Sources, Patterns and Consequences*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1965); A. Etzioni, "The Epigenesis of Political Communities at the International Level," *American Journal of Sociology*, 68 (1963), pp. 407-421.

[2] Saul D. Alinsky, "The War on Poverty-Political Pornography," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 21 (January, 1965), pp. 41-47.

The sensitive social developer or community organizer relates these various symptoms to the disturbances in the community and to the rise and fall of these symptoms with these social conditions. To put it another way, one must be prepared for and not surprised by the fact that, as crises occur either through unplanned change or the planned processes of change, the problem of controlling aggression, of creating realistic alternatives, and managing inevitable anxieties are absolutely critical; if not prepared, one must be ready for aggression which can get out of control, fantasies and anxieties which are personally and/or group disabling. The development organization must be flexible enough to provide outlets and channels for expressing hostility and aggression, for correlating fantasy with fact, and for channeling and discharging anxiety. To neglect this is almost certainly to create social and psychological "dis-ease."

Step 3: In this step, according to Smelser's theory, there is an attempt to solve problems through the realization of the existing system by attempting to handle the mobilized tensions and motivations. There is, in effect, an attempt to bring aggression back into acceptable channels, to release anxiety, and to relate fantasy to the group's basic values.

From my own experiences in two Appalachian communities and in one other development setting, I have been quite struck by a special kind of leader who emerges in Step 3, and in the following steps as well. My **speculation** is that the most successful innovative leader who develops in stage 3, and subsequently, is the sort of person who in Weber's[3] terms is an artistic combination of a leader with charismatic, traditional, and rational skills.

Let me explain myself. Personal charisma means an innovative leader with the personality and role image to draw people to him and his change proposals, that is, he has the exceptional qualities to which special virtue is attributed. Possessing traditional skills means that he is sufficiently informed about and sensitive to the traditional ways of life and knows how to take tradition into account and utilize it. By being "a rational man," I mean that he is sufficiently skilled in the "modern way of life" and the strategies and techniques which encourage and stimulate modernization. My hypothesis, in other words, is that a leader who emerges with these three kinds of leadership skills is most likely to be successful in an Appalachian setting.

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[3] For an excellent summary of Max Weber's views on these categories, see Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 564-75.

Step 4: This is the encouragement of new ideas or definitions, though there is no specific responsibility for carrying them out. I must emphasize that this step involves a **specification** of the types of goals which must be achieved in order to erase, correct, modify, or solve the initial source, or sources, of dissatisfaction. During this step, at least four things occur: 1) the specification of problem-solving goals; 2) specification of the motivations necessary to effect change; 3) the encouragement of **new** rules to achieve these goals; and 4) the revision of authority and the division of labor required to realize these new goals.

For those interested in social development, an important point must be kept in kind: an essential aspect of this stage is that responsibility for behaving in terms of the new specifications is not "set." To put it another way, rewards, in terms of prestige and honor, are available to those who lead the way toward the realization of these goals. It should be emphasized that thus far, no new way of doing things has emerged, although this stage has set things up for this to happen. It is through Steps 5, 6, and 7, that new ways of doing things emerge.

Step 5: In this stage, **positive** attempts are made to reach a specification of the processes that have gone on in Step 4, as described above. In this sense, the new definitions can become objects of personal and group commitment.

Step 6: Now there is a responsible implementation of these new ways of doing things which people are rewarded for doing or punished for not doing. The extent to which these roles are rewarded is in effect a measure of their acceptability or reprehensibility.

Step 7: If Step 6 goes over positively, the new definitions of Step 4 are gradually routinized into patterns of performance and sanction and become part of an accepted and changed institution.

From a development point of view, it seems to me that this scheme emphasizes several points that must become part of the organization's way of doing things:

1) the organization must be prepared to deal with change as a process over time;

2) the development organization must be prepared to have available a specific theory as to what and how to change;

3) latent or optional strategies for doing things must be assessed and available;

4) an organization committed to social change must be characterized by a capacity for flexibility and diversity of strategies over time. If a development bureaucracy is not prepared to shift gears with the process of change, involving new phenomena to be dealt with, then program failure is **highly likely.**[4]

To put it another way, the organization must have in mind a strategy it wishes to accomplish. In terms of Whyte's observation, it must be prepared to **innovate** rather than simply copy.

2. Development and "Independence" Values

Since it is very unusual to find a correlation between high levels of education and poverty, it is clear, on the basis of this hypothesis, that a crucial factor in the development of Appalchia or any region is the radical upgrading of education.

What have we learned from this study which may be of value in developing strategies for speeding a commitment to education as a basic value in this particular Appalachian community? To answer this, let me briefly review the basic patterns of adaptation to the problems of education in an Appalachian community. "Now a man needs an education" has become an important theme here. With urbanization, the need of a formal education has become a more important goal for many, yet it seems that definitions of education have not really changed materially in terms of the different social classes. In the better class, there was a definition that "we got as much as we could and our children will get more." In the past they were motivated to seek available educational goals; now with expanded role opportunities, this group utilizes school resources somewhat more than in the past, and more than the other two groups. In contrast, in the get-by group, indifference to education seems to continue. "We don't have enough, what else can we do?" apparently summarizes their view about education.

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[4] For a case illustration, see William F. Whyte, "Imitation or Innovation: Reflections on the Institutional Development of Peru," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 13 (December, 1968), pp. 370-85.

Since they usually do not have the education or skills for new and more skilled jobs, their indifference or ambivalence is a serious problem.

Finally, among the "sorry" class, there is persistent apathy and indifference to all things called formal education. They are the least educated and the first to drop out. Parental support for a child to finish school appeared to be almost non-existent.

Must we accept as a fixed and immutable thing the pattern of the past repeating itself? Must we uncritically accept that the "get by" and "sorry" class are simply either withdrawn from educational values, or so apathetic and indifferent that they represent almost insuperable barriers to change? I personally think not, and as Seymour M. Lipset has pointed out: "the problem of collective mobility [educational mobility] is one which has been little analyzed by the social scientists."[5] As a beginning examination in Blue Ridge (and perhaps these suggestions apply to other Appalachian communities as well), several mechanisms for change could be tapped in the "get-by" and "sorry" classes to encourage educational advancement among their children:

The schools could structure the child's emerging or latent grievances about being "left out" or "not knowing what to do," as anxieties to be dealt with and resolved. In keeping with the scheme of structural defferentiation, the arousal and organization of dissatisfactions can get the change process in motion. Assuming the possibility of structuring these grievences, I think two very important additional mechanisms for changing and improving education commitment can be utilized.

a) McClelland has shown that high achievement motivation is associated with economic prosperity. In my experience in Appalachia, these people display a deep attachment to independence as a value very important to their self esteem and personal identification. This core value could be harnessed for economic achievement purposes and rewarded in the school systems by associating independence with their "cultural" wish for independence **with** economic aspirations.

b) As McClelland[6] further points out, upward mobility can also be facilitated by a sense of "other directedness." In this case, the schools can build into their ways of doing things a conscious effort to channel a sense of "mountain man independence," while providing within the school a compatible "other directedness" beyond the family. Thus the school climate of opinion and rewards would be "the other" in this case, emphasizing mountain man independence and education as **joint** values. Maybe the association of these values with the child's behavior would be an important way to tap important latent motives for achievement. On the basis of this study, this hypothesis may be more fruitful than looking at the kids in the "sorry" and the "get by" classes as apathetic and withdrawn.

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[5] Seymour M. Lipset, '.Research Problems in the Comparative Analysis of Mobility and Development," *International Social Science* Journal, 16 (1964), pp. 35-38.

[6] David McClelland, *The Achieving Society*, (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1961), pp. 192-203.

3. "Non-Weberian Model of Bureaucracy"

At the risk of being accused of academic self-aggrandizement, I would like to comment on "a Non-Weberian Model of Bureaucracy: The Case of Development Bureaucracy,"[7] that I proposed in a recent paper, and show these ideas can be used to enrich the opportunities for development in Appalachia. I certainly hope, also, that an additional dividend would be the refinement through critical use of the scheme I am about to outline.

I define development bureaucracy as the **management of change**, and suggest, in the spirit of Weber's **ideal** topological approach, that the following are some of the major **ideal** patterns a development bureaucracy must build into its procedures.

First, a development organization is theoretically oriented, meaning that if you want to change or develop something, have a specific theory, well grounded in empirical work, about the processes of development you wish to initiate and guide to a pre-determined end. This theory, or set of theories, then determines the organization's strategies, alternatives, and options. For example, it seems that much of the federal poverty program deals, or should deal, with the problem of socialization or resocialization.

Let me give several illustrations. As a basic assumption, following the good advice of William Foote Whyte,[8] one aspect of a sense of an organizational theory of change involves organizational commitment to innovation as an **organizational strategy.**

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[7] Berton H. Kaplan, "Notes on a Non-Weberian Model of Bureaucracy: The Case of Development Bureaucracy," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 13 (December, 1969), pp. 471-83.

[8] Whyte, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

Whyte points out that if Peruvians, or anyone else, pursue an imitation strategy of change, this is an implicit acceptance of a sense of inferiority. He adds that:

> Imitation of institutional models from an industrialized nation is dysfunctional for the developnig nation. The imported model does not often fit the needs of the host culture. Furthermore, the imported model is a product of a particular historical circumstance in the exporting country. Members of the exporting institution would not recreate it in its present form if they were free to build it anew. Industrialized countries are also characterized by a high degree of specialization, by complex problems of organization of specialities. The developing nation can progress best as it pursues an **innovative** strategy with an emphasis upon the integration among specialities.[9]

I would emphasize that Whyte's advice would apply to Appalachia as well.

Second. Since a process of change or development involves processes over time, the organizational structure must be adapted to shifting its priorities and strategies with time. In any case, I must make this point absolutely clear: the organizational structure must be flexible and include numerous latent structures which become manifest or available as required. Here you need specific knowledge of the steps or stages involved (as **illustrated** in the Smelser model), such as needed types of change process leadership which may vary considerably. The development organization must be prepared to meet contingencies.

Third. Being client-centered, this type of organization would normally focus on the large system of the clients' life styles; therefore the development organization is related to the working of an entire way of life. So, it must have full understanding of the most salient aspects of Appalachian culture. The organization needs to develop its own community model of dominant sentiments around basic problems and keep it up to date. The best illustration I know of this approach was developed by Alexander H. Leighton and his associates in The Stirling County Study[10] who asked for example: what are the basic sentiments in the community concerning change, innovation, achievement, outside influences, styles of leadership, and new ideas?

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[9] Whyte, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

[10] Charles C. Hughes, et al., *The People of Cove and Woodlot*, (New York: Basic Books, 1960).

Fourth. A major norm or characteristic of the developmental organization is that socialization (or "development") is the primary goal. In developing organizations, the change process may have some possible parallels to individual stages of development so the Erikson statement[11] on these stages may be of heuristic value. For example, organizational conflict could focus around such issues as trust, autonomy, initiative, industry, identity, intimacy, generativity, and integrity. In any case, a development bureaucracy would soon have to resolve the early issue of developmental strategies and stages.

Fifth. A major organizational focus will be on the experimental approach, whether there is an actual experimentation or not. In other words, the organization must show significant results. It must design its work as an experiment; most successful population programs, for example, are obviously **programs designed as experiments.**

Sixth. Community development efforts will be influenced by the alternatives for action available to the development organization. The value of each alternative must be assessed. This could be called the "norm of limited possibilities." Further, development effort will be influenced not only by its own alternatives for action but also by those imposed by the constraints of the particular cultures' level of development at that point in time.[12]

I must emphasize that this is an ideal set of definitions not intended to be definitive, and hope that through use and through hard research this model will be drastically renewed and revised. Since I am positive that there is a range of different types of development bureaucracies, my aim here is merely to suggest that these **ideal** patterns may lead to more effective strategies for Appalachian development.

It is also important to begin to consider some of the **environmental constraints**[13] operating on development bureaucracies. The following constraints classify some of the basic structural dimensions of such organizations. Basic and too often neglected environmental constraints influence the kinds of development bureaucracies we can design and the possibilities for their success.

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[11] Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, (*New York*: W. W. Norton, 1963).

[12] Everett Hagen, *On the Theory of Social Change*, (Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1962). Hagen points out that an adequate theory of social change involves critical variables on personality, level of economic growth, values, and technological creativity. There is a need to relate childhood to history and to the present.

[13] See also, Vernon E. Buck, "Model for Viewing an Organization as System of Constraints," in James D. Thompson (ed.), *Approach to Organizational Design*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1966), pp. 105-172.

1. Social disintegration is a widespread phenomena.[14] That social disorganization is often associated with poverty and rapid urbanization is well known. Query: How much development effort can be successful in a situation of social disintegration?

2. Impaired mental health, often a widespread phenomenon among those in the lower social class or where there is social disintegration, is likely to interfere seriously with development efforts. Query: How much development success will occur within a client system with a high prevalence of ego impairment?

3. Social disintegration and impaired mental health tend to be associated. Leighton, for example, found that if community effectiveness is improved, mental health ratings also improve.[15] Query: How does a development effort deal with the interlocking processes of social disintegration and such ego impairments as suspicion, withdrawal, and crippling levels of anxiety?

4. Social or community development activities have not been as successful as expected, especially considering the resources expended.[16] Query: How are better organizational models to be developed?

5. Other types of constraints are enduring child rearing frustrations, motivational problems, learning problems, problem-solving inadequacies, etc. How are these critical factors to be measured and corrected?

6. The lack of success in social and community development activities may often be associated with the lack of effective and relevant organizational models for community integration or development.[17] Query: How can we build more relevant organizational models for development?

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[14] Alexander H. Leighton. "Poverty and Social Change." *Scientific American*, 212 (May 1965), pp. 21-27.

[15] Leighton, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-27.

[16] Ward S. Goodenough. *Cooperation in Change*. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963), p. 7.

[17] Goodenough. *op. cit.*; Leighton. *op cit.*, pp. 21-27; Hagen. *op. cit.*, The large family size of the poor and the socially disintegrated is another type of interference.

In view of these constraints, and there are surely others, how does one design more effective bureaucratic models for development and arrive at a better understanding of constraints in the modernization process?

4. Developmental Laboratories

It is appropriate to conclude this chapter with some simple suggestions or guidelines that an Appalachian development agency might consider in developing and enlarging a program. I make these comments in the spirit of one of my favorite quotations from a book by Einstein and Infeld:

> The formulation of a problem is often more essential than its solution, which may be merely a matter of mathematical or experimental skill. To raise new questions, new possibilities, regard all problems from a new angle, requires creative imagination and makes a real advance in science.[18]

In this spirit, it seems to me that an institute on Appalachian development must involve at least the following foci:

1) a setting for the development of a thorough and accumulative assessment of the scientific knowledge about the culture area, about the process of change, and alternate models of change;

2) in such a center there must be room for interdisciplinary communications and "model" building;

3) the institute must encourage the development of integrative frameworks for examining more creatively the problem of poverty and development;

4) an institute should initiate a series of comparative studies of Appalachian culture, particularly in the context of Appalachian history, poverty, and resources;

5) this should be a center for comparative research on the successful techniques used throughout the world to break the cycle of poverty, without being uncritically imitative in the proposals stemming from such research.

I conclude these comments on development with the strong conviction that we must either learn more efficient and humane approaches to social and cultural justice or we shall perish or cripple ourselves on the inevitable anger of the dispossessed, and disenchanted.

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[18] Albert Einstein and L. Infeld. *The Evolution of Physics*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1942).

CHAPTER 12

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

To restate the basic problem of this research, we were concerned with what crises had been created in the way of life of Blue Ridge as a result of considerable social changes. Specifically, we were concerned with the dissatisfactions which had developed. Finally, we were interested in the attempts to solve these problems through the existing system or through structural reorganization, realizing that different stages of development would exist. We will summarize what was learned about these problems.

In order to understand the social changes, it was necessary to learn as much as possible about Blue Ridge prior to the contemporary period of strong urban influence, and to discover what factors contributed most significantly to changing the local society. Several dominant themes defined the characteristic social features of the community prior to the considerable social and economic changes. People in the community earned their livelihood through subsistence agriculture, supplementing their food supply through hunting and fishing. Within this division of labor and simple technology, the family was the central institution, most social roles were included within its context, and most social relationships were defined by family ties. In addition to a strong emphasis on familial orientations, Protestant fundamentalism set a single religious perspective which deeply influenced the life of the people. Blue Ridge was very much a part of the so-called Bible Belt.

Neighborliness also provided important roles, while mutual cooperation was often necessary to meet the challenges of a difficult environment. A strong sense of individualism was also important, since the earliest settlers—whether the poorest or the most prosperous—came to these mountains to earn their own way. Finally, the community was very isolated from the rest of the state and nation. Indeed, Blue Ridge represents a truncated early 19th century culture which has only very recently been pressed to integrate into the mainstream of American life. Thus, we have a brief profile of a community which, in general, was folk-like though stratified.

There were said to be three distinct classes—the "betters," the "get bys," and the "sorrys," which have been described in some detail. Although stratified into differing styles of life, the foregoing dominant social characteristics were common to most of the people.

There were several major factors, both internal and external[1] in origin, which caused considerable changes in the community. First, the technology of mining and timbering altered the occupational structure by creating wage work and more skilled jobs within a previously agricultural community. Then unrestrained timbering and mining stripped the mountainsides and set into motion soil erosion which in turn made agriculture **less feasible.**

Second, because of the railroad (built to haul out timber in 1907), the hard-surfaced roads first built during the 1920's, and the electrical lines (completed in 1952), which made radio and television possible, the community was opened over the years to increasing communication with other communities and with the outside influences of modern American life. The social situation of the community was greatly altered.

Third, with this increased contact, alternative value-orientations arose—for example, fundamentalism versus modernism in the churches, or material success versus a religious state of grace.

Fourth, social deviation also helped set into motion alternative values and norms. For example, some of the returned servicemen of World War II came home with new achievement values and norms to master the lack of income and opportunity in the community. Such propensities to deviate were sources of change in the social system.

Fifth, the "better" class value-orientation of accepting change and desiring to achieve and master the environment was an encouragement to changes in **their** group and the community as a whole. In the "sorry" class, by contrast, the value placed on acceptance of hardship appears to have had a stabilizing effect, resulting in much less social change.

Sixth, population increases, particularly during the 1930 to 1940 period (township increased by 27.7 percent)[2] made for a higher man to land ratio. By the 1940's the custom of dividing the home place among the children had created a pattern of small land holdings. In the 1940's and 1950's, many left to job opportunities in nearby or Northern cities, which contributed to the decline of large famiiles living close to each other.

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[1] Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward A General Theory of Action*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 230-233.

[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventeenth Census of the United States*, 1950. *Population*, II (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 18.

Seventh, with the opening of nearby factories after World War II, the division of labor changed materially—from predominantly agricultural to largely wage earning employees, which greatly altered the social system of the community.

Finally, the strains and the dissatisfaction within the system generated attempts at certain points, particularly among the "better" class, to change the system to meet or eliminate its problems. System dissatisfactions are thus seen as sources of change of great importance in an analysis of social system dynamics in which attempts at reaching a new equilibrium are sought.

The foregoing gives us a summary picture of the major factors which set into motion the various changes in the way of life of the community. The crises created by these changes and the responses made to these problems were the major focus of this research.

While the reader is referred to preceding chapter summaries for a detailed review of the findings of the model of structural differentiation, several very general summary comments are in order at this time.

With the exception of the problems of the aged and of sex roles ("who wears the britches"), the "better" class has progressed the most towards structural reorganization and a new equilibrium, so that, at the time of the research, this group appeared to be the least socially pressed by the stressor problems of change. The "get by" group appears to be in the most conflictual and uncertain position, partly organized along pre-change times, partly disorganized and conflictual with regard to appropriate norms and values. In terms of a goals-means problem (anomie) the "get by" group is the most affected by a gap between goals and means, e.g., the goal of stable work, without means to effect this goal. Finally, the "sorry" class is in most respects still committed to the values and norms of pre-urban times. If we use occupational change as a criterion, this group is also the least affected by urban changes. Although they have their own particular social system problems, especially a very low socio-economic position, they are said to have changed little.

Implications

Implications for the model of structural differentiation. When examining the implications of this study for the model of structural differentiation,[3] the following points seem the most relevant:

(a) The use of a miniature theory dealing with a specific problem of social change should encourage a review of the entire social change literature with the aim of cataloguing our present knowledge into miniature theories for specific problems. The lack of such a summary of our present state of knowledge in this area is reflected, for example, in recent reviews.[4] It is striking that there was not a chapter on social change in the assessment of sociological problems and prospects in **Sociology Today.**[5]

(b) The use of the model of structural differentiation in the study of the change process yields encouraging results.[6]

(c) Despite criticisms to the contrary, it is possible within a functional theory to study social change in process terms.[7]

(d) A great virtue of using the model of structural differentiation is the generality of the theory which should be applicable to any social system, whether a community, a therapy group, or a hospital ward in process of structural reorganization.

(e) In this study, it became apparent that a system can be involved in several steps of change at the same time, although one step may have greater prominence than others.

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[3] Neil Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 1-42. See also Talcott Parsons and Neil Smelser, *Economy and Society*, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 270-271.

[4] Ralph Beals, "Acculturation," *Anthropology Today*, Alfred L. Kroeber (ed.), (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 621-639; F.M. Keesing, *Culture Change*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), pp. 290-294; Bernard J. Seigel (ed.), *Acculturation*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955), pp. 5-15; Alvin Boskoff, "Social Change," *Modern Sociological Theory*, (New York: The Dryden Press, 1957), pp. 269-302. In 1969, the codification of social change theory was still in need of a fresh ordering of propositions.

[5] Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (eds.), *Sociology Today*, (New York: Basic Books, 1959).

[6] E. Z. Vogt, "On the Concept of Structure and Process in Cultural Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, 62 (February, 1960), p. 28.

[7] Francesca Cancian, "Functional Analysis of Change," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (December, 1960), pp. 818-827.

Usually, the current step would be the most prominent, but preceding steps may still be active. For example, the holding and handling operations in step three may overlap with searches for new definitions in step four.

(f) The criteria for step two, the symptoms of disturbance, are lacking in social criteria. Rather the model emphasizes psychological types of symptoms. Some cataloguing of the social criteria of symptoms of disturbance is needed. For example, Linton's[8] types of nativistic movements as responses to social upheaval are symptoms of disturbance. In Cohen's study of delinquent boys, the gang can be seen as a symptom of social disturbance.[9] Patterns of psychosomatic disorders, mental disease, open conflict, crime, drug addiction, etc. are other socially patterned symptoms of disturbances in the cultural and social system.[10] The task of correcting this deficit in the model is beyond the scope of this study, however.

(g) The structural differentiation model serves to highlight the transitional situation, in which the total process of reorganization is incomplete.[11] This model has also been used to suggest developmental strategies; see Chapter 11.

(h) It appears that the model of structural differentiation permits comparisons between systems that adapt to change with "success" and those which get into "trouble" in change situations.[12] The question would then arise as to why one system is more adaptive than another. In these terms, a comparative scheme for studying the process of social change might be developed from the model used in this study.

(i) Clearly, the concept of social dissatisfactions is not entirely satisfactory, although we have used such synonymous concepts as social disturbance, stressor, "problems," and social crises. A basic difficulty is that dissatisfactions seem to imply psychological states or the subjective effects of the stressor on the group. It is consequently desirable to emphasize that the concept of social crises refers to the cultural phrasing of the stressor problem. As used in the model of structural differentiation, dissatisfactions are defined in terms of roles and social institutional resources, not psychological states.

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[8] Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements,' *American Anthropologist,* 40 (April-June, 1943), pp. 230-240.

[9] Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys,* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 49-72.

[10] See, for example, Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet, *Contemporary Social Problems,* (New York: Hancourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961).

[11] Alvin Boskoff, "Structure, Function, and Folk Society," *American Sociological Review,* 14 (December, 1949), pp. 751-752.

[12] For a possible approach to measuring this, see Leo Srole, Thomas S. Langner, Stanley T. Michael, Marvin K. Opler, and Thomas A. C. Rennie, *Mental Health in the Metropolis: The Midtown Study,* I, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962), pp. 59-66.

Implications for folk theory. It is important to relate this study to the "traditional" area of folk theory. Several implications appear important:

(a) The typologies of folk cultures can be quite misleading in at least three ways. First, there were quite distinct differentials in styles of life within the earlier, pre-urban community. It was not as homogeneous as we would have expected, even considering the ideal type. Second, social life appeared to be far more complex than would be indicated by the conceptual criteria used to define a folk society. Finally, the typologies in practice encourage contrasts—personal versus impersonal—rather than a focus on the processes of social change.[13]

(b) It was most interesting to find that the "better" families who had the greatest solidarity in pre-urban times were the most adaptive to the changes in the community. They appeared to be the most socially resourceful in terms of socialized motivation, values, role performance, and social facilities, which may help account for the differences among classes as to the effects of social change on their way of life.[14]

(c) The data strongly encourage a theory relating value congruence and social change.[15] If the values of the affected group are at least somewhat congruent with the values of the value-sending or socializing group, then we would expect that the change to a new system would be easier and less conflictual. For example, the "better" group's values of hard work and mastering the environment were easily redefined into the achievement values and motivations of an industrializing society. In contrast, the group with the least congruent values, the "sorrys" are the least altered by social change. The "get bys" appear to be in the more anomic situation, due often to the lack of norms and values appropriate to change.

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[13] For example, Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (January, 1947), pp. 293-308; Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 1-15.

[14] Sanchez, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35.

[15] I am indebted to Dr. Harvey L. Smith for pointing this out. See, for example, Judith T. Shuval, "Emerging Patterns of Ethnic Strain in Israel," *Social Forces*, 40 (May, 1962), pp. 323-330; W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social System of American Ethnic Groups*, III, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 102.

Implications for the concept of stressor and the relationship between health and society. The originating concept of this research was that of stressor and its implications for studying the community in health relevant terms. The health relevance of the concept of stressors has been seen in terms of the link between stressors, the major problems of adaptation faced by the people of a society, and the potential for illness which is seen in terms of stress, a subjective response to the stressor(s).[14] In this respect, the following implications appeared most important in furthering the development of a concept of stressors:

(a) The concept of stressor(*s*) is quite valuable empirically in locating socially-defined "problems" in the way of life of a people. We related this concept to Thomas' concept of crisis, which is cognate with Smelser's concept of dissatisfactions. These dissatisfactions, or stressors, have been analyzed in terms of roles and social institutional resources, an approach that ensures a sociological rather than a social psychiatric view of stressors.

(b) The model of structural differentiation permits the investigator to analyze the social stressors and then relate them to the social symptoms of disturbance, although we have noted required changes in the present statement of the model. Besides this, the model allows an examination of how disturbances can be handled within the existing system or perhaps solved through change. As a result, the concept of stressor can be linked to adaptive or maladaptive behavior under conditions of either equilibrium or change.

(c) Because the concept of stressor provides a picture of some of the possible pressures on the individual patient the physician sees, we can now provide the physician in Blue Ridge with a series of clinically relevant questions to illuminate the stressor problems patients may be experiencing. This is especially useful when the diagnosis involves functional factors.

Implications for health relevant community studies. A concern with the implications of this research for the concept of stressors leads us further into a consideration of the implications of the entire approach to health relevant community studies. Indeed, these two sections overlap. The following implications seem most important:

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[14] Harvey L. Smith, *Society and Health in a Mountain Community: A Working Paper*, (Chapel Hill: Social Research Section, Institute for Research in Social Science, 1961), p. 6.

(a) Several studies revealing that different sub-cultures have quite different incidences of mental disorders and other types of maladaptive behavior[17] require us to ask at least one question: What are the stressors in the way of life, from child rearing to the problem of old age, which would help account for the variations in pathological incidence by social class, socio-economic status, rural-urban, etc.? It is to this question that the Blue Ridge study makes some small contribution.

We will consider only those other community oriented studies which relate socio-cultural factors to the patterning of maladaptive behavior. As indicated, the research of the past has built convincing evidence that social pathology is not randomly distributed. Several recent projects have been devoted to community setting studies which attempt to explain the patterned distributions of maladaptive behavior in terms of social and cultural variables. It should be pointed out here that all these studies appeared well after this one was initiated.

In the Stirling County project,[18] which studied several communities from the viewpoint of social psychiatry, the authors indicated that problems of anomie and social disintegration were related to the varying incidence of psychiatric illness.[19] Following the Hollingshead and Redlich study, which investigated the relationship between social class and mental illness, Myers and Roberts[20] became interested in studying the effects of social class upon the development of mental illness.

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[17] See the most notable of these: Robert E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas*. Reprinted. (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1960); August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Radlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958); Leo Srole, Thomas S. Langner, Stanley T. Michael, Marvin K. Opler, and Thomas A. C. Rennie, *Mental Health in the Metropolis: The Midtown Manhatten Study*, I. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962); Ann G. Maney, The Social Ecology of Treated Functional Psychiatric Disorders in Eastern North Carolina. (Unpublished dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1958); John A. Clausen, *Sociology and the Field of Mental Health*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956); Robert K. Merton and Robert Nisbet, *Contemporary Social Problems*, (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1961).

[18] Alexander Leighton, *My Name is Legion*, (New York: Basic Books, 1959).

[19] Hughes, *et al op. cit.*, pp. 392-433.

[20] Jerome K. Myers and Bertram H. Roberts, *Family and Class Dynamics in Mental Illness*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959), pp. 265-266.

Their conclusions suggest as hypotheses for further research that social mobility is strongly associated with the development of mental illness in class III, but not in class V; that in class V adverse economic conditions and community isolation permeated their lives; that class III socialized its children to be respectable and successful, whereas in class V parents paid little attention to patients and family life was disorganized; that class III parents provided suitable models for identification, except for their adolescent children; whereas in class V few patients had suitable models; that threats to social, economic and physical security were stronger in class V than in class III; lower class patients felt rejected and exploited; that class III patients appeared more sensitive to internal threats, such as conflict, fear and guilt. Thus, each class faced different stressor problems, which may help account for the different patterning of mental disorders.

Finally, Miller and Swanson's[21] study of **Inner Conflict and Defense** is relevant to consider. They examine how different child rearing practices in a community dispose children to learn different ways of expressing conflict. They found that social class is significantly related to expressive styles. It would seem then that in order to understand both different symptom patterns as well as varying incidences of maladaptive behavior by class, we need to know how different child rearing practices give rise to particular methods of resolving conflict. Miller and Swanson's study contributes significantly to this end, a necessary aspect of a community approach to socio-cultural risk factors.

The Blue Ridge study complements the foregoing studies because it has contributed to the types of stressors studied in the social system, for example: role complementarity dilemmas between husband and wife in a changing occupational system, family solidarity difficulties in families undergoing structural change, family status and mobility changes, educational problems in an urbanizing society, generational conflicts in a transitional society, job threats of the work situation within a changing occupational system, and the problem of religious conflict and religious worth in a changing religious system.

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[21] Daniel Miller and Guy E. Swanson, *Inner Conflict and Defense*, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1960), pp. 3-38.

In particular, we have related a wide range of adaptive problems to the way in which different sub-cultures made different adaptations to these stressors. Also, although utilizing a social change theory which the other indicated studies do not develop, this study provides some data for points of comparison to the second volume of the Stirling County Study, **People of Cove and Woodlots.**[22] The major point of cross-cultural focus would be in terms of comparing the different stressor problems in five communities.

We must also point out how the Blue Ridge study differs from other related works. First, this study examines the different phases of adaptation, from the stressor problem to structural reorganization, as listed in the seven steps in the model of structural differentiation. As a result, it is possible to relate social **system** disturbances to various types of symptoms of disturbance, or to attempt to solve the problem in the existing system, or through structural reorganization. None of the cited studies deals with such processes.

Second, as we examine the different phases of social system change, we can study the varying ways in which different sub-cultural groups respond to the problems of adaptation. This was seen clearly in the three social classes of Blue Ridge, where urban influences have created common problems, as well as some different problems, for the different sub-cultures. These sub-cultures—the "betters," the "get bys," and the "sorrys" —have exhibited quite different adaptations to these problems.

Third, none of the other cited studies was explicitly tied to a sociological theory of social change, namely structural differentiation, within which to study the problems of adaptation of social change and the different responses to these stressors.

Fourth, with a focus on the changing key social structures, it was possible to study the different problems in each and the different responses within each institution. And as not all social structures change at the same rate, it was possible to highlight the different involvement of each of the key social structures in the processes of change. To the best of our knowledge, this has not been duplicated elsewhere.

Fifth, and finally, this study dealt with the cultural phrasing of the problems of change as defined within the different social structures and different sub-cultural groups of Blue Ridge. In this respect, our study approaches W. I. Thomas' point that it is highly desirable to study social life with concepts that mirror social reality in both the objective and subjective sense.[22] By focusing on culturally defined stressor problems, we have attempted to mirror social reality. As a result, the stressor problems studied should have greater relevance to understanding the particular experience of the people in this community.

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[22] Hughes, *et. al., op. cit.*, pp. 165-243.

(b) In terms of our originating problem, we must classify the different social classes in terms of populations at "risk" to different stressors. Just as germs in the environment may put the individual or group at risk of infection, stressors are problems of adaptation which may put the individual or group at risk of stress responses.

In general terms, the "better" class families appear to be least at "risk" to the stressor problems of social change. They appear to be the least socially "disturbed" and the most advanced in the process of developing new means to deal with the problems created by social change. To this general statement, we would add three important exceptions. For the "better" class women, the "who wears the britches" problem is quite important as a potential source of "pressure." These families are also trying to cope with the generational conflictual issue of the aged, who see themselves as having been "put on the shelf." Finally, among the high school age group in this class, the problems of "what am I going to be?" and "what can I do around here?" are serious concerns. These are largely unresolved social dissatisfactions, culturally phrased and defined within the sub-culture of the "better" families.

In comparison to the "better" class families, the "get by" families are less well adapted to the stressor problems of social change, and hence more at "risk" to the potential stress problems they may create, with possible consequences of functional illness or deviant behavior. Along every structural focus, they face important stressor problems, as, for example, in social dissatisfactions over family solidarity and role uncertainties, intergenerational conflicts, "job scared" threats at work, educational defects which limit occupational mobility and life chances, status uncertainty, and a great deal of conflict over religious beliefs. The "get by" group has progressed little toward developing new institutional solutions, while often not utilizing older institutional solutions. This places them in the most transitional phase of any of the three social classes in the community. Rather than solving problems, they have been on the receiving end of social change. Consequently, as a result of many unresolved problems, we would expect this group to be more at "risk" to the stressor problems in the community than the "better" class.

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[22] Edward Volkart, *Social Behavior and Personality: Contributions of W. I. Thomas to Theory and Social Research*, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951), p. 5.

"Sorry" class families reflect different patterns of adaptation. This insulated group represents an almost archaic culture, the most distant from changes, living by older methods of subsistence agriculture, occasional jobs, and usually devoted to almost atomistic values of independence. Their low level of education, indifference to urban values and change itself, and low level of occupational skill have meant restricted life chances. In a sense, this group has been by-passed, yet acutely aware of their very low socio-economic status. Their stressor problems thus include a long history of marginal living, as well as contemporary pressures of change. Here were found disorganized family life, little education and children who leave school as soon as possible, few stable jobs, very low social status, and an unsure definition of religious salvation. So we see a group who live at "risk" to many stressor problems, most of which are old difficulties, as a rule, utilizing older solutions and responding to present pressures by seeking comfort in a revitalized fundamentalism of the past.

(c) If we are to gain a more systematic knowledge of the relationship between mental disorders, maladaptive behavior and society, a knowledge of the stressor problems is not enough. At least two other aspects of this problem need further specification. The mechanisms of social control require elaboration and inclusion in such a theory. Next, the various modes of adaptation which are structurally possible and permissible within a given social system require elaboration.[24] For example, faced with considerable stressor problems, some people resolve the threats or conflicts, others are adversely affected. Why? If a group is subjected to considerable sources of stress, mechanisms of social control may check the expression of deviant behavior. Or if the experienced stress is expressed, there may be alternative modes of expressive behavior, e.g., psychosomatic illness, hysterical paralysis, social protest movements, etc., which may vary in number and possibility of expression.

In order to further our understanding of the different patterning of maladaptive as well as adaptive behavior, our theory should account for the stressors, the social mechanisms of controlling deviant tendencies, and the available and socially[24] permissible modes of adaptation.[25] For example, what may give rise to obesity in one culture may be expressed as alcoholism in another, or ritually controlled behavior in another, a psychoneurosis in still another culture.

Implications for further research. The following suggestions for future research are offered:

(a) It would be most desirable to replicate in Blue Ridge the study by Srole, et al., **Mental Health in the Metropolis,**[26] to provide an epidemiological assessment of the actual prevalence of mental disorders in the community. We would also add other types of maladaptive behavior, e.g., crime. Through the analysis of this type of data, along with our existing knowledge of the community, it should be possible to expand even further our inquiry into the social stressors, which would help explain the patterning of maladaptive behavior.

(b) In keeping with (a), it would be most valuable to do a comparative study of "well" and "sick" families, as defined by the extent of social and medical health. We would want to inquire into the familial matrix of stressors and the distinguishing family variables which might account for the different adaptations. This approach encourages us to look at the family matrix in order to understand the individual patient's adaptations as well as the entire family equilibrium, or disequilibrium.

(c) Further inquiry needs to be made into the crises and problem solving provided within the religious life of the community. As Srole,[27] et al. have pointed out, we know very little about religious factors in the distribution of mental illness.

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[24] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 283-325; Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Second edition, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 131-194.

[25] For example, see Francis C. Madigan, "Role Satisfactions and Length of Life in a Closed Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, 68 (May, 1962), pp. 640-649.

[26] Srole, *et. al., op. cit.*, pp. 26-66.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

(d) The socialization process that has to do with the problems of authority and independence appears to be especially important in understanding male behavior in this community. It requires study.

(e) Based on Dr. Ida Harper Simpson's analysis[28] of the early field report, Harvey L. Smith has developed the following problems as possible foci for further study:

> Patterns and problems of the development of a new community as people move toward the new roads from isolated coves and settlements.
>
> Population changes, especially age-sex patterning: causes and effects.
>
> Patterns of socialization within families (both nuclear and extended) especially as these are affected by changing social roles of men and women in the local society.
>
> Varying conceptions of "honesty" among different coves and settlements as these are associated with the presence or absence of economic possessions of value.
>
> The social functions of negatively sanctioned behavior, such as prostitution, the making of whiskey, etc.
>
> Patterns and problems of inter-generational relationships.
>
> Comparison of relational patterns in nuclear and extended families, i.e., the structure of dependence-independence; generational directives for child care; the role of the absent working mother or of the migrant-laborer father; mutual helping patterns; neighboring and visiting.
>
> Strains between kinship ties and the developing social differentiation.
>
> Relations between familial working patterns and family organization (migratory laborer, working mother, split shifts, locus of work: farm or mill).
>
> Changing male and female occupational roles as related to cultural values of dominance and dependence.
>
> Social mobility: avenues and techniques; newly acquired patterns of behavior and their sources; models

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[28] Ida Harper Simpson, "Interim Report on Eight Weeks of Anthropological Field Work in a North Carolina Mountain Community, 1954," (Unpublished manuscript, Social Research Section, University of North Carolina, 1955).

for change and modes of emulation; value conflicts and inter-generational conflicts in social mobility.

Courtship patterns and problems: availability of partners and the problem of "cousins;" comparison of in- and out-marriages.

Social change: sources of new aspirations and areas of changing values; channels of influence; roles of military service, mass media, work, etc.

Work: relationships between cultural values, motivations for work, and the setting of work (farm or mill); age-graded and sex-related differences; relations among education, social technical skills and work opportunities; innovations from the world of work.

Relations between developing occupational variety and community social differentiation and stratification.

Migratory work: resultant of limited local opportunities of any sort, or of identification with special occupation modes?

The development of commercial from subsistence farming: who is involved, how, with what effect?

What are the emerging needs of the new integrating institutions (i.e., the consolidated school) that differ from the needs of the component settlements (i.e., the recreational needs of youth)?

Strains between parental attitudes in different settlements and the values inculcated at school by teachers and peers; conflicts of directives.

The school as "urbanizing" and "secularizing" influence: agents and processes.

Strains at school resulting from the integration of the diverse coves and settlements within one institution.

"Nativistic" reaction to pressure for change; areas and institutions (i.e., the fundamentalist churches and urban forms of recreation.)[29]

This study has focused on the problem of how to study the community in a manner relevant to understanding adaptive success or failure and social development. A model for the study of this problem has been advanced, utilized, and further developed. The model permitted us to examine a series of related problems: the stressors, the disturbances in the social system; the symptoms of disturbance; the ways in which the system attempted to handle and correct the disturbance using existing resources, values, and technique; and finally the ways in which the system was changed to correct the sources of disturbance and create new ways of doing things. Thus, the model of structural differentiation can be used to study the changing equilibrium of a social system. This changing equilibrium sets the terms of human social adaptation which provide the setting for health and illness. With this focus, the study of individual health and social system balance may be seen to coincide.

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[29] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-25.

Appendix A

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

I concur with the editorial advice to place the usual detailed review of literature in an appendix. In this way, the main point of this study is not sidetracked by an extensive review of relevant but not essential preliminaries. Scholarship is not lost; clarity and utility are served.

The relevant literature[1] is discussed with several important goals in mind. First, the different concepts used to focus on the stressor problems of a changing social system are reviewed. Second, the supporting literature for these conceptual points is cited. Third, as the literature is reviewed, a critique is made in terms of the extent to which past work permits us to deal with how structural differentiation arises to attempt to solve the crises created by major social change. The latter is the theoretical problem of this research.

We are examining the literature from a particular point of view, so it is necessary to outline briefly the model of structural differentiation, which is our theoretical perspective for the problem of the research.

A model of structural differentiation, as formulated by Smelser,[2] deals with the way a social system is reorganized or restructured to solve disturbing dissatisfactions with roles and resources through changes in the system, a process of developing new equilibrium. This type of change is especially characteristic of growing and developing social systems. Change is considered as a definite process. The key points of this model can be summarized as follows: a system is confronted with goal dissatisfactions created by changes, accompanied by the prospect of correcting this problem; symptoms of these dissatisfactions may arise and may be controlled by the existing system; but over time new ways of doing things, specific proposals to innovate, develop, and help solve the dissatisfaction through structural reorganization. The intent of Smelser's model is to handle social change as a process over time through seven analytic steps. In our review, we are concerned with the way past research relates to this recent departure point in the study of social change.

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[1] There are, of course, reviews of the *general* problem of change: see Wilbur Moore, *Social Change*, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963). For a recent review of social change and health, see John Cassel, "Social Change and Health," (Unpublished paper, Department of Epidemiology, University of North Carolina, 1970). Another excellent review from a health consequences perspective is by John Cassel, Ralph Patrick, David Jenkins, "Epidemiological Analysis of the Health Implications of Culture Change," *Annals of the New York Academy of Science*, 84 (December 8, 1960), pp. 919-958.

[2] Neil J. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 7-17.

Past Research

In past research, Durkheim's **Suicide**[3] represents an early and enduring contribution. Specifally, his concept of anomie was used to deal analytically with the strains created by changes in the social structure. Anomic suicide, as a type, arises from a social structure characterized by its "normlessness." The concept of anomie, as a source of strain, has had several important theoretical consequences. Merton, for example, has further encouraged a theory of anomie and expanded the concept to handle types of adaptation to the strains generated by anomie.[4] As will be discussed subsequently, much of the perspective of social disorganization has been influenced by Durkheim's theoretical concern with the control of norms over conforming or deviant behavior. As for current generalizations, it would seem that at least one hypothesis is relevant: that with rapid or major social change, anomie may arise as a structural problem.[5] Here we find that current research is lacking on the way in which the system changes in order to attempt to solve the problem of anomie through structural differentiation, that is, finding a solution to the anomie problem through structural reorganization.

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[3] Emile Durkheim, *Suicide*, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 252.

[4] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, First revised edition, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 131-194; see also, Marshall B. Clinard, *Anomie and Deviant Behavior*, (New York: The Free Press, 1964).

[5] Durkheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-254; Andrew E. Henry and James F. Short, *Suicide and Homicide*, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954), p. 73; Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 297-325, esp. p. 323; George Homans, *The Human Group*, (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1950), pp. 334-368; Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-194; Robert E. L. Faris, *Social Disorganization*, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1948), pp. 20-39; Alexander Leighton, *My Name is Legion*, (New York: Basic Books, 1959), pp. 303-351; Albert K. Cohen, "The Study of Social Disorganization and Deviant Behavior," *Sociology Today*, ed. Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, (New York: Basic Books, 1959), pp. 461-484; Mabel A. Elliott and Frances Merrill, *Social Disorganization*, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1934), p. 20.

Redfield, building on the work of Durkheim, Maine, and Toennies, was interested in the change from folk to urban community structures and adjustments. Redfield was quite interested in the very nature of the process of urbanization. He was also interested in types of socio-cultural organization such as primitive, folk, or urban. Redfield's major concerns were at least two in number. First, he was using a typological approach to do research which would reveal different types of communities.[6] Second, he was particularly concerned with the impact of urbanization on folk cultures. He saw the folk as an integrated, small personal community. The process of urbanization created urban characteristics in their way of life, such as impersonality. Urbanization also posed several stressor problems such as social disorganization, secularization, and social isolation.[7] Although Redfield's work, or the work done in his spirit, represents a valuable contribution, it seems to deal with the problem of change as a series of points in time. The folk-urban approach seems to encourage flat comparisons, for example, personal vs. impersonal. But this approach does not allow us to examine how strains arise, and how attempts to solve the problems created by change come about through changes to a new social system.

We can go on to other studies either in terms of specific works or in terms of specific points of view. We will do both. In terms of specific studies of the stressors of social change, for example, Hallowell[8] pointed out that value dilemmas or conflicts were created by change with personal disorganization and apathy as types of responses to the strains. The problem of role conflicts, for example, as a result of change, is described in a study of the Spindlers.[9] The Wilsons refer to the conflicts generated by change in terms of radical oppositions.[10] Brennan, Cooney, and Pollins[11] have referred to the status changes as a stressor problem for adaptation in a changing part of Britain. In such studies, one again encounters the deficit of a scheme with which to analyze the stressors created by change and the steps taken to resolve the difficulties through restructuring of the system. A look at the reviews of the study of change will lead us to the same conclusion.

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[6] Robert Redfield, *Folk Cultures of Yucatan*, (Chicago: University of Chicago (January, 1967), p. 255.

[7] Robert Redfield, *Folk Cultures of Yucatan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 16-18.

[8] A. Irving Hallowell, "Values, Acculturation, and Mental Health," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 20 (October, 1950), pp. 732-745.

[9] Louise and George Spindler, "Male and Female Adaptation in Culture Change," *American Anthropologist*, 60 (April, 1958), pp. 217-233.

[10] Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 45.

[11] T. Brennan, E. W. Cooney, and H. Pollins, *Social Change in South-West Wales*, (London: Watts and Company, 1954), pp. 3-8.

From the point of view of acculturation studies, for instance, Gillin[12] points out that one consequence of acculturation is the creation of confusion and instability brought about by conflicts in values and roles. As a result social and cultural disorganization, random behavior, apathy, and withdrawal have been some of the observed symptoms. To be sure, reorganization is another possibility. If we take the perspective of culture change, as summarized by Keesing[13] we find that culture change can create dysonomia in terms of a sense of loss of the previous cultural rationale, with resulting tension and insecurity, anxiety, emotional upheaval, etc. If we took a social change view, as a summary Boskoff[14] points out the dilemmas value conflicts, crises, blockage of need patterns, role conflicts, and personal tensions created by social change.

It is very apparent that social change creates many different types of stressors, whether taking individual studies or the more recent summaries of research as an organizing focus. The major problem remains, however, in finding a model of structural differentiation which allows us to proceed from the problems created by change to a view of how reorganization takes place to solve these problems in growing and/or expanding systems. Other past theoretical departures will show, furthermore, that this is a continuing problem.

Another departure point not covered in the foregoing is that of the anxiety-inducing anxiety-reducing theory. Margaret Mead[15] and Simmons and Wolff[16] hypothesize that in the case of socio-cultural change, patterns such as rituals, beliefs, ceremonials, used to reduce tensions or anxiety are lost. Social constraints and supports are lost in the change process. Also, every culture has sources of tension or anxiety, but it also has means of coping with them. This equilibrium is upset by the changes. This then leads one to the examination of the roles which allow for socially approved expressions of frustration or anxiety[17] Theoretically, frustration-aggression theory seems to be involved here. Sources of frustration can be displaced or sublimated in approved and non-destructive ways. But they can also be expressed in anti-social behavior or on the self. Also, the assumption is made that frustrations lead to aggression. But this approach poses a problem. It focuses on some of the sources of disturbances. It relates aggressive behavior to these disturbances. But it does not seem to allow us to deal with the way a system can be reorganized to eliminate the sources of frustration which lead to aggressive behavior of any type.

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[12] John Gillin, *The Ways of Men*, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1948), p. 561. See also Bernard J. Seigel, ed., *Acculturation*, (Stanford; Stanford University Press, 1955), pp. 5-15; Ralph Beals, "Acculturation," *Anthropology Today, ed.*, Alfred L. Kroeber, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 621-655.

[13] F. M. Keesing, *Culture Change*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), pp. 69-94.

[14] Alvin Boskoff, "Social Change," *Modern Sociological Theory*, ed. Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff, (New York: The Dryden Press, 1957), pp. 289-302. See also William B. Ogburn, *Social Change*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), pp. 200-268.

The social mobility approach provides study of another type of stressor. Social mobility, the change in social status, is held to be a source of strain. The confrontation with learning and adapting to a new subculture is assumed to be an adaptive difficulty. It is not certain whether downward mobility creates the same problems as upward mobility.[18] Again, this point of view does not deal with the structural process of attempting to resolve the strains.

We are especially concerned with the culturally defined sources of stressors. W. I. Thomas was interested in analyzing social life as it appears in the experience of the people who live it.[19] In this way, one can grasp an understanding of experience in order to understand behavior. When there is a disruption of habits, when situations are altered, when the group is unprepared for new experience, when new stimuli demand attention, then the phenomena assume the aspect of a crisis.[20] A crisis is a threat, a challenge, a strain on the attention, a call to new action."[21] The process of a call to new action, to new roles, is one of our major research concerns.

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[15] Margaret Mead, "The Concept of Culture and the Psychosomatic Approach", *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*, ed. Douglas Haring, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press), pp. 518-538.

[16] Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, *Social Science and Medicine*, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), pp. 34-97.

[17] John Dollard, *et. al.*, *Frustration and Aggression*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), p. 1.

[18] Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 251-254; August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness*, (New York: John Wiley, 1958), p. 11; A. B. Hollingshead, R. Ellis, and E. Kirby, "(Social Mobility and Mental Illness," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (October, 1954), pp. 557-584.

[19] Edward Volkart, *Social Behavior and Personality: Contributions of W. I. Thomas to Theory and Research*, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951), p. 5.

The concept of crisis leads to a consideration of the area of social disorganization. Turning to a classic, Thomas and Znaniecki, in **The Polish Peasant,**[22] were interested in the social pathology which derived from the peasants' shift in socio-cultural environment. Briefly put, crises arise from gross or rapid changes in habit and relationship. Consequently, social disorganization takes place, by which they mean the decrease of influence of existing social rules upon the individual members of the group. As a result, family and personal disorganization may follow, which would be empirically seen in conflict, illness, deviant behavior and so on. These then are the major concepts by which Thomas and Znaniecki account for deviant behavior as it derives from socio-cultural change. Indeed, in very capsulated form, this should serve as a brief statement of their theory.

The crisis point of view as a source of stressors is also found in a paper by Gillin and Nicholson who point out that for the normal individual in any society, the hazards of life are phrased for him in his culture. Every culture can be seen as a system which deals with threats and defenses against them. "A threat is any circumstance or object which a given culture defines as potentially punishing, i.e., as capable of inflicting pain, frustration of goal satisfactions and rewards."[23] These threats to goals and values are defined in a people's way of thinking.[24] Consequently, the concept of threat is a conceptual tool to isolate stressors. In our field of interest, they would be the threats arising from change.

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, II, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), p. 1121. For recent summaries of this approach, see Reece McGee, *Social Disorganization in America*, (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962); Albert K. Cohen, "The Study of Social Disorganization and Deviant Behavior," *Sociology Today*, *op. cit.*, pp. 461-484.

[23] John Gillin and George Nicholson, "The Security Functions of Cultural System," *Social Forces*, 30 (December, 1953), p. 179.

[24] *Ibid.*

One way of putting it would be in terms of the change crises which are defined as threats by the people of the culture. Keesing[25] used the concept of threats, for example, to deal with and reflect the problems of change. Other work done using the concepts of crisis and threats to deal with the life problems of change has been by Leighton,[26] Gillin,[27] and Thompson.[28] They use the concept of crisis or threats to deal with the adaptive problems in the culture, in terms of the cultural phrasing of these threats. The assumption is that many of these culturally phrased stressors may be personally experienced as stressful. The literature from psychosomatic medicine[29] and disaster studies[30] support the position that stressors may create stress situations. Indeed, Margaret Mead hypothesizes that the threats within a culture increase with change.[31] Again, the foregoing work does not seem to allow us to examine how the crises created are handled through attempts to solve them by structural rearrangements.[32]

Present Research

Research on the stressors of social change has been reviewed. Several observations seem possible at this time. First, we have found little guidance to deal theoretically with the way major strains are solved through attempts at structural reorganization over time. Second, it seems that the concept of social crisis is valuable as a way of looking at cultural definitions of the strains in a changing social system. The concept of crisis is a link to culture, society, and personality.

There does, however, seem to be a very recent major work which allows us to deal with our theoretical problem. Neil

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[25] Keesing, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-94.

[26] Alexander H. and Dorothea C. Leighton, *Gregorio, The Hand Trembler*, (Cambridge: Peabody Museum of American Ethnology, 1949), pp. 31-39; Alexander and Dorothea C. Leighton, "Some Types of Uneasiness and Fear in a Navajo Indian Community," *American Anthropologist*, 33 (April-June, 1942), pp. 194-209.

[27] John Gillin, *The Culture of Security in San Carlos*, (New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, 1951), pp. 1-4.

[28] Laura Thompson, *Culture in Crisis*, (New York: Harper, 1950), p. 1.

[29] Simmons and Wolff, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-97.

[30] Charles W. Fogelman, "Disaster and Aftermath," *Social Forces*, 38 (December, 1958), pp. 129-135; Harry E. Moore and H. J. Friedsam, "Reported Emotional Stress Following a Disaster, *Social Forces*, 38 (December, 1958), pp. 135-139.

[31] Margaret Mead, *op. cit.*, pp. 518-538.

[32] E. Z. Vogt, "On the Concepts of Structure and Process in Cultural Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, 62 (February, 1960), p. 28; Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 486.

Smelser's **Social Change in the Industrial Revolution**[33] uses a model of structural differentiation to deal with the way important changes create dissatisfactions which can result in major corrective changes in that structure. It is interesting that Durkheim's **The Division of Labor in Society**[34] is an outline model of structural differentiation, whose full implications as a theory of change process have only recently been elaborated in recent works by Smelser,[35] Parsons and Smelser,[36] Schnore,[37] and Parsons.[38] Also, Smelser's model permits us to deal with Thomas' concept of crisis and Smith's concept of stressors.

Smelser's model[39] sets out to deal sequentially with the changes which result in major structural reorganization, as indicated at the beginning of the chapter. It must be emphasized that this is but one aspect of social change. Smelser starts with the dissatisfactions (Thomas' crisis) created by change and deals with the steps in structural differentiation that arises, over time, with attempts to solve the problem through new ways of doing things.

It may be appropriate at this time to point out that our application of Smelser's theory is unique. He dealt with the impact of major economic and social changes in the social structure. In the earlier book by Parsons and Smelser, they dealt with economic differentiation.[40] We are concerned, on the other hand, with the impact of major economic and social changes on the major social structures of a community. At the time of the research, 1957-59, this community was very much in a transitional status. The crises and adaptations of this period are highlighted.

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[33] Smelser, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-49. *It is clear that Smelser's Concept of dissatisfactions covers a variety of stressors.*

[34] Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, reprinted (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1947).

[35] Smelser, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-49.

[36] Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, *Economy and Society*, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 270-271. Much of Smelser's model as employed in *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution* is worked out in this work.

[37] Leo F. Schnore, "Social Morphology and Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (May, 1958), pp. 620-634. This is an excellent critique of the great value of Durkheim's model of structual differentiation.

[38] Talcott Parsons, "Some Considerations on the Theory of Social Change," *Rural Sociology*, 26 (September, 1961), pp. 219-229.

[39] Smelser, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

[40] Parsons and Smelser, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-271.

Appendix B

RECIPROCITY AND THE ROLE OF THE PARTICIPANT OBSERVER IN AN APPALACHIAN COMMUNITY

The Research Setting

My purpose is to specify certain problems of participant observation that arose during a study of structural differentiation in a once isolated but now urbanizing community in the Appalachian mountains.[1] Although Benjamin Paul points out: "There is no prescription for finding the correct entree into a community,"[2] we wish to comment on what turned out to be appropriate entree devices in one Appalachian community—an area of current socio-economic development interest. These observations may be of use to others doing community development work in Appalachia and elsewhere.

The Role of the Participant Observer[3]

In establishing a research role in which participants observation is the major means of securing data, the problem of establishing a norm of reciprocity is crucial. Consequently, I was faced with this question: what mechanisms are appropriate for establishing a norm of reciprocity that will make future interactions effective? This section will deal, therefore, with the structural mechanisms that proved useful to "start" a norm of reciprocity in this particular setting.

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[1] Berton H. Kaplan, *Social Change, Adaptive Problems and Health in a Mountain Community*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, unpublished dissertation, 1962).

[2] Benjamin D. Paul, "Interview Techniques in Field Relationships," *Anthropology Today*, edited by A. L. Kroeber, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 430.

[3] For a sample of this diverse literature, see such classic statements on the role of the participant observer as W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp. 38-75, William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), 2nd edition, p. 279; Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, (London: Routledge, 1932), pp. 5-25; Florence Kluckholm, "The Participant Observer Technique in Small Communities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (1940), pp. 331-343; John W. Bennett, "The Study of Cultures: A Survey of Technique and Methodology in Field Work," *American Sociological Review*, 13 (1940), pp. 672-689; Gerald G. Berreman, *Behind Many Masks*, Monograph No. 4, (Ithaca: The Society for Applied Anthropology, 1962).

Gouldner's statement on the norm of reciprocity provides a departure point for the present analysis:[4] "... norm of reciprocity in its universal form, makes two interrelated, minimal demands:

(1) people should help those who help them;

(2) people should not injure those who help them."[5]

He goes on to show that norm of reciprocity has at least two distinct social functions as a group stabilizer, and as a "starter" of social interaction.[6] I will focus on the latter.

The concept of "starting mechanisms" falls somewhat outside the perspective of traditional functional theory because it focuses primarily on the mechanisms by which established systems are able to maintain themselves,[7] starter concepts refer to changes in the system. As Gouldner states:

> Although functional theory is concerned with problems of how individual actors are prepared by socialization to play a role in social systems, its general theoretical models rarely, if ever, include systematic treatment of the beginnings of the social system, as such, and consequently, do not formally raise the question of the nature of the mechanisms needed to start such a system.[8]

It is in these terms that I am concerned with "starting mechanisms "used to establish a norm of reciprocity for field work in this particular southern Appalachian community.

Mechanisms Used to Start a Norm of Reciprocity[9]

My first entree mechanism can be classified as projecting a definition of the situation or as choosing a name for my research role.[10] In a new situation, this mechanism involved sending out information on how I wanted members of the community to define my research role. I found that this had to be done with a large measure of conviction to communicate a strong belief about my role and the validity of that role.[11] Indeed, the conveying of strong role convictions may be an essential "starting" mechanism.

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[4] Alvin Gouldner, "The Norm of Reciprocity," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (April, 1960), pp. 161-178.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 176. We are keenly aware that much that is said in this paper is not at all unique, but we would hold that this method of conceptualizing the problem may make other and future work more accumulative.

[9] I am indebted to John M. Roberts, Ph.D., for clarifying the problems of a "Timetable," for phasing, of these mechanisms. Roughly, I am listing my sequence of strategies.

[10] Irving Goffman, *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1959), p. 1.

So, in a hesitant environment, I presented myself as a health researcher, explaining my connection with the hospital at the University of North Carolina. It was assumed that the definition implied in the concepts of health would provide a basis for defining communications between myself, my informants, and other members of the community. Indeed, the use of a health role image provides a role of high moral character which held a large amount of legitimacy in their own system.[12] We thus attempted to develop a norm of reciprocity for the role of the participant observer around strongly held moral values about health.

The second definition offered to "start" a norm of reciprocity had to do with the projecting of a definition of the situation that would define my role in terms of the pivotal values in the local culture, namely religious values. I knew before going to Blue Ridge that much of my social behavior, acceptance, and communication would be contingent upon my relationship to the religious system. The religious role was pivotal for entering the entire system. Since I had spent two months in Israel and had taken many pictures of "Holy places," I had a basis for defining my role in terms of Southern Appalachian core value concerns with religious behavior, such as a demonstrated sincere interest in the land of the Bible. As a result, during the first week in this community, I told the local preachers that I could make available pictures of Jerusalem and Nazareth and other places of great Biblical significance. Permission was quickly secured to show these pictures in the churches. While showing them, I explained my other role as a health researcher, attempting to link their image and concern with religious behavior to my own role. With the permission of the ministers, I showed the pictures several times over a period of two weeks, and found that I was becoming known as the "man with the Bible pictures." This soon led to invitations into practically every household in the community, which in turn set the stage for gaining an intimate knowledge of the local way of life.

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

While presenting the Biblical pictures, and explaining my research role, I also indicated respect for the community's basic religious values. As a result, these two attempts to project a definition of the research role considerably reduced my initial isolation from the social system of Blue Ridge and established a basis for later reciprocities. This effort helped to set up an effective norm of reciprocity for my role as a participant observer. In effect, I started a norm of reciprocity of the sort that Goode[14] calls a "role bargain." That is, I provided a Biblical "experience" which the very Biblically oriented would not otherwise have had. I was giving them "something" for the information that I would be asking from them. In a way, this was a conscience-soothing strategy for me. I was aware of taking a great deal from them in information and time and wanted to offer something in exchange. So a role bargain was struck, in which religious experience was exchanged for information about their culture.

The next mechanism used for "starting" a norm of reciprocity between myself and members of the community might be referred to as "role fusion," which took the form of attempting to place informants in the role of the researcher rather than subject. I asked informants to become researcher colleagues and help study community change and health. I emphasized the importance of the research role and the contributions they might make by accepting the role themselves. Indeed, I found that most were willing to accept this definition. I discovered that the first few months of our field work were really devoted to training local observers and fellow researchers who later became very productive.

Many informants, curious about their own way of life and very enthusiastic about their research role, began to ask how they could help and how they could provide more complete information. Later, I found that the more they accepted the value of their role as fellow health researchers, the more communicative they became and the more information I acquired. Certainly the interviews became more spontaneous and pro-

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[13] This became the normative basis for even seeking out most of our informants, but this will not be discussed here.

[14] W. J. Goode. "A Theory of Role Strain". *American Sociological Review*, 25 (August, 1960). p. 489. See also, Benjamin D. Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 450-451.

ductive as informants began to define themselves as colleagues. As a result, by the end of the third summer, I had approximately thirty highly skilled local informants. In retrospect, it seems that the induction of informants into the roles of the colleague-researcher, or asking them to at least begin to think of accepting this role for themselves, was a crucial starting mechanism for establishing a basis for a norm of reciprocity between me and my informants.

Another mechanism for establishing a norm of reciprocity may be referred to as appreciating the value of "others," a fundamental and classic problem. Not only was it necessary to present my own role with conviction and with clear definition, but it was also necessary for me to respect the core values of the culture. For example, the three core roles and values in this society have to do wth religion, good neighboring, and kinship. I knew this before going to Blue Ridge. As indicated earlier, by showing the pictures in the churches, I demonstrated respect and interest in their religious sentiments. By acting as a good neighbor in providing helpful information, transportation, and asking for advice, I became known as a good neighbor. Finally, by an early acceptance into some of the key families (discovered by kinship diagrams), who are literally kin to about everyone else, I was accepted on an "as-if" kinship basis to a large number of people in the community. Being accepted within these roles and acknowledging the related core values, I demonstrated an appreciation of their way of life, and in so doing, helped initiate and consolidate a norm of reciprocity for my own research role.

In developing a norm of reciprocity, it was also imperative to develop what Goffman refers to as defensive practices, or strategies and tactics to protect the projected definition of one's role to others.[15] It was further necessary to develop what he refers to as protective practices, that is, to secure initial key informants who would "save" my definition of the situation.[16] These two mechanisms comprise the technique of what Goffman refers to as safeguarding the impressions you wish to convey.

As for defensive practices, I tried to locate several key informants who could provide a continuing check on how others defined my role and then allowed them to correct any distortions as they arose. In an early attempt to set up this mechanism I was able to protect the initial definitions of my role. I used those key informants who were by social position apparently most influential because of their community prestige to correct any role distortions that might have arisen. I had, for example, been seen by a few people as an FBI agent or as a "treasury man." As for protectiveness, having placed informants in the role of colleague and researcher, I could count on them to work in a protective manner without my suggestions, as they were also protecting their own image in the community. They had a definite self interest in safeguarding the accuracy of my role projections.

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[15] Goffman, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Clearly, this important problem requires proper development in the literature on field work.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Another mechanism relied on can be referred to as "expanding role observability." Merton suggests that a possible mechanism for articulating roles is to limit role observability.[17] I found, in contrast, that as a starting mechanism for participant observation, it was necessary to present my role in such a way that it was maximally, not minimally, observable, and that it be observable in terms of a projected role definition. For example, the showing of Biblical pictures provided me with an early and continuing role in which I maximally observed and understood.

As Merton points out, social support is still another mechanism for articulating roles, especially if the situation is stressful.[18] In this case, in the earliest phase of my attempts to establish a norm of reciprocity, social support had a quite different meaning. Since I was not yet in the system, there was really very little opportunity for social support locally. Consequently, it was necessary to have external sources of support. One such was ready access to the project director, either in writing or by telephone. The second source of support was an earnest preparation for this role, which provided the basic role guidelines, in effect a normative kind of inner support. The third kind of support was to leave temporarily and discuss field situation frustrations with colleagues and advisors. Finally, another way of beginning to achieve social support within the local system was to subtly inform them of the stressful uncertainties of the situation, with a request for nomative guidance.

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[17] Robert K. Merton, "The Role Set," *British Journal of Sociology*, 8 (June, 1957), pp. 106-120.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 106-120.

SUMMARY

This section outlines some of the major "starting" mechanisms used in creating a norm of reciprocity for participant observation work in a mountain community in the Appalachian region of North Carolina. I have attempted to conceptualize my experience along lines suggested by Gouldner in terms of the "starting" mechanisms for a norm of reciprocity, with additional theoretical help from Goffman, Merton, and others.

In conclusion, several mechanisms permitted us to start a norm of reciprocity in this particular community:

(1) projecting or naming the role with conviction;
(2) establishing the moral quality of the role;
(3) linking and relating the role to core values in the culture;
(4) creating a role fusion in which informants become colleague-researchers;
(5) expressing appreciation of their core values;
(6) developing definitional safeguards or defenses;
(7) creating maximum and clear role observability;
(8) having outside social supports available.

The above mechanisms may have parallels or applications to other kinds of situations in which the problem is one of creating a norm of reciprocity for membership in a social system. For example, it may be interesting to observe how a new patient develops techniques for acceptable role reciprocities in group psychotherapy. In any case, this paper is offered as a basis for further inquiry into the mechanisms for starting a norm or reciprocity, and hopefully contributes to the important questions raised by Gouldner.

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